The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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COMMON SENSE FROM KANSAS

THE UNANIMOUS nomination of Governor Landon of Kansas as the Republican candidate for the Presidency has brought about a very welcome change in the political temper of the nation, as it now enters the most active part of the campaign. For now there seems to be a really strong and definite prospect that the campaign will be conducted in a fairly temperate spirit, in which reasoned arguments instead of emotional billingsgate will be laid before the voters. If this happy result of the capture of the control of the Republican party by the younger, and reputedly "liberal," elements of the Middle West is maintained, and determines the climate, so to speak, in which the political forces of the nation will conduct their fateful struggle, that nation will have great reason to be grateful to Kansas and the Governor of Kansas, whether Mr. Landon wins the election or not.

For many months prior to the Cleveland convention nearly all the signs and omens of the political situation indicated pressures of passion and prejudice, rising and spreading from both political parties, and presaging future hurricanes and whirlwinds when the opposing parties should close for the inevitable struggle. Generally speaking, by far the larger portion of the daily press, particularly the Hearst chain, the Paul Block and Gannett chains, powerful Republican organs, such as the New York *Herald Tribune*, the Chicago *Tribune*, followed by hundreds of others, and supported by such conservative Democratic organs as the Baltimore *Sun*, had labored mightily to convince their readers that the New Deal was utterly and flagrantly subversive of American institutions. The efforts of the press along this line were loudly supported by a large number of legal, financial and industrial organizations, unless, indeed, it can be said that the press was the supporting element in this movement, and the great and powerful organizations the leaders and shapers of the movement.

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For it is quite certain that the editorial policies of the press, as a whole, are determined and directed by its owners, not by the editorial staff, who are hired men. Their opinions may and often do coincide with those of their employers; but when they do not so coincide, they must be suppressed. If and when the opinions held by the owners of the press really tend to build up and support the general good of the whole people, well and good; if not, the power of the press is not free, if held and controlled by special interests. At any rate, the prevailing opinion of the predominant portion of the press, up to the time of the Landon nomination, was certainly alarmist.

That alarm was thunderously proclaimed at the convention itself by nearly all the orators, notably by the "key-note" speaker, Senator Steiwer, and even more forcefully by Herbert Hoover. And it was perpetuated, at least verbally, in the platform adopted by the convention. "America is in peril." "For three long years the New Deal administration has dishonored American traditions and flagrantly betrayed the pledge upon which the Democratic party sought and received public aid." "The power of Congress has been usurped by the President. The integrity and authority of the Supreme Court have been flaunted." Etc. Etc.

Then the Convention got down to its practical business, and nominated Governor Landon. But before that was done, the common sense of the Kansas spirit, represented by its quintessential representative, the Governor himself, took charge of the situation, and brought about that really fundamental change which, we think, will be welcome to all save the extreme partizans of the New Deal and the bitter-end opponents of the New Deal alike. For essentially the platform, as molded by the agents of Governor Landon, in the committee meetings, and particularly as it was reorientated by himself, in the letter read to the delegates before they voted for him, was a complete compromise. For as Mr. Arthur Krock justly, we believe, points out, the Republican platform really opposes only those New Deal measures which have been invalidated by the Supreme Court, and in part adopted the rest of them. And Governor Landon made it quite plain that if it became necessary to urge an amendment to the Constitution to permit the states to legislate on behalf of the abolishment of sweat-shops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages, and working conditions, he would favor and work for such an amendment. "This obligation we cannot escape."

Moreover, the platform stands for federal relief of the needy unemployed. The Republican party thus stands committed to the same policy as the New Deal. It strongly, and in some respects justly, criticizes the methods of the Democratic administration. It promises to do the same job better; that is all. So, too, of old age security; so, too, of aid to agriculture. While the platform proclaims its devotion to "free enterprise" as the supreme principle of the American system, over and over again it admits the need of government "regulation" in all the important areas of industry, finance, public utilities, and agriculture.

What, we think, most thoughtful Americans will ask as the campaign proceeds, is assurance that the Kansas spirit of moderate social reform, of a determination to improve the general conditions of life and to use the governmental power to that end, is really in control of the Republican party. If so, and at present it would seem to be so, the majority of Americans are not likely to be frightened badly by the result of the November elections, no matter which side wins. In Kansas and the other Western States there are millions of Americans who are by tradition members of the Republican party, but who never have been, nor will be now, supporters of that element in the party which by its blind devotion to Mammon led the nation to the smash-up from which it is now so painfully trying to emerge. These millions of Americans are like other millions who are to be found in the Democratic party. Most assuredly they are opposed to dictatorship—whether of a central government, or of an oligarchic clique of special and privileged interests. They do not want Socialism any more than they desire uncontrolled, immoral, debauched "free enterprise." Those many millions of inter-party Americans have followed the New Deal banners since 1932. They reaffirmed their belief in it in the mid-term elections of 1934. There are signs that many are now disappointed. If a large proportion turn in November toward the sunflower of Kansas it will be because they believe, or at least they will hope, that that sunflower really turns its face not toward the darkness of reaction but toward the sunshine of social justice.

Week by Week

IT WAS Landon all right, from the very start. The desire to rebuild Republicanism lasted until the Kansas Progressive, who stayed at home all the while, had been named the almost unanimous first ballot choice of the Convention. Many forces operated in his favor, and some of them are analyzed by Mr. Charles Willis Thompson in this issue. We ourselves think that the really arresting thing at Cleveland was Mr. Hoover's speech. One may disagree with it in whole or in part. But the fact remains: somebody had to deliver it, and we may rightly be grateful that the message came from an ex-

The Trend of Events

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President of the United States. There is no doubt that Mr. Roosevelt's administration has been an experiment in government. It is essentially an attempt to preserve American democracy through the exercise of the federal power. Now this power is an ultimate in the sense that there is no greater political might in the nation. Two important questions accordingly arise: Is the extension of federal control in itself wise, and are the uses to which it has been put compatible with a long-range confidence in the security of our institutions? The answers depend, as Mr. Hoover correctly observed, upon whether mistakes made elsewhere by governments similar to that of Mr. Roosevelt are being or can be avoided. And probably they can be only if the thirst for liberty remains as ardent as the quest for security is intelligent. These remarks might well have come—in various forms they do come—from men in either party. But, despite a few merely political phrases, Mr. Hoover said what was needed to be said with a great deal of vigor and effective restraint.

BUT THE business of partizan endeavor seldom remains on so high a level of thought. Most of the language that came over the air from Cleveland seemed oddly antiquated and beside the point. The same phenomenon will be observable when the Democrats meet. As a matter of fact it has long been apparent that the run of politicians have not kept pace with the nation's social and economic thinking. Too many people have gone to high school and college. Too many have been driven to reflect and to read. The old shibboleths of party enthusiasm no longer hold out promise or stir enthusiasm. Fundamentally the people would not trade a hole in the wall for all the merely partizan assertions in the world. An oration like that delivered by Senator Steiwer sounds as if it came from a phonograph record made in the palmy days when Mr. Edison was an experimenter. Ideas, and ideas of really tremendous import, have cast a shadow upon even the least suspecting, and it no longer helps to lambast the enemy camp with a few carefully selected statistics. We believe that Mr. Landon realizes these things as Mr. Roosevelt certainly does. If neither neglects the opportunity, the show now beginning ought to be good.

PAYING the bonus constitutes a minor economic revolution. Capital sums averaging $550 will be paid out to millions of people, free to save or spend them. That spending is to be the rule is pretty generally taken for granted; and the number of baits now cast into the waters baffles computation. The government has issued solemn warning that many of the worms have hooks inside them. There is the random stock salesman, for instance, whose shares in a wobegone Arizona copper mine have drugged the market during many lean years. How many bonuses will he net? And there is the used car market, where newly painted relics in number will bring three times as much as they are worth at a generous estimate. How many rattletraps will be stalled in the woodland wild these coming months? The whole thing is well worth watching. It is an uncontrolled experiment in distributism. We should like to think that when the cash is all safely pocketed and used, small farms in greater quantities, or other sound properties, will crown the ledger. We can well imagine what the immigrant groups of seventy years ago would have done with $550. They too had had some experience with misfortune. They too had fared on meals of less than prime quality. Perhaps their descendants have learned in a measure to think as they thought. But we have too much respect for recent American traditions to pin many hopes on this sort of regeneration. We have all been too well canvassed. We see very, very clearly what money will buy. And so we confidently expect that, a year hence, many heirs to the windfall of June 15, 1936, will begin to look around for more.

The Golden Rain

DEATH struck a heavy blow at Catholic intellectual effort during the week. First came news of the sudden demise of the Reverend Julius Nieuwland, famous Notre Dame professor of chemistry, who was summoned during a chance trip to Washington. Then it was Professor Parker T. Moon whose passing we were called upon to mourn. And finally the press reported that the great G. K. C. was no more. To all of them extended tribute will be paid later on. Just now it is difficult to realize that their work is at an end. None were men of an achievement from which they dwelt apart in Olympian isolation; all were surprisingly continuous, in the sense that everything they did helped to develop a central interest to all its ramifications. Mr. Chesterton, for example, was the nearest thing to perpetual literary motion our common literature has seen. He was literally "at it" all the time, and one knew that he never forgot to keep on hammering at every anvil in his shop. There never seemed to be a point at which he would be likely to say, "There, that's enough of that." It would be a bad paradox but in many ways a sound truth to hold that he never aimed to improve, unless it were to improve his aim. He was like an archer with a number of targets and an unflagging interest in his sport. Father Nieuwland, too, was constantly digging away in his labyrinth, which seemed to have neither beginning nor end but heaps of treasure. And Professor Moon's incredibly varied tasks all centered round ideals

Death's Harvest

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of international conduct which he served with what also appeared to be inexhaustible energy. It is not easy to see who can replace such men. But that is not the only reason why we shall remember them.

Good Indians Are Polite Indians

OF THE making of freak wills there is no end, in and out of fiction. There are the wills providing for cats or dogs, and disinheriting nephews and nieces. There are the wills cutting you off if you don't marry this one or do marry that one. There are the wills leaving you the necklace if you spend a night in the haunted chamber, and the wills forbidding you to drink fermented liquor, to live away from your grandfather's grave, to play the violin. It is pleasant to have news of one testamentary deposition which belongs in this general category, and which yet has a discernible and solid social utility. A gentleman once passing through a Cape Cod town had a fugitive hat restored to him by a little Indian lad who refused recompense, saying that his people had long ago owned all those parts and still felt the obligation to be courteous to strangers. The gentleman, understandably pleased, assigned a generous sum ($50,000), from which yearly rewards were to be given after his death to the politest Indian children in the favored district. It appears that this practise has been going on ever since, with admirable results on the behavior of little Indians. We are even more struck with the possible influence for good on the behavior of circumjacent little palefaces. By the terms of the story, the diminutive copperskins of Mashpee are already in possession of a gracious legend and the manners to match it.

The Leading Spirit

A RETURN to a recurrently interesting theme, the development of a style of art recognizably American, is made in the *Yale Review* in a pleasant and scholarly article by Mr. Virgil Barker. He has for eight years been at work on a history of American painting and this short distillation reflects his authority. He makes just references to the colonial, utilitarian craftsmen and portraitists; then he notes the departure of our painters to foreign shores, with our growing sophistication, and the loss of any influence of "the grotesque and raucous but vitally shaping life currents of their age in the United States" on their work. It might be supposed, of course, that the grotesque and raucous life currents would have been a little better if they had not only influenced but been influenced by the best of our native artists. A case in point is the contemporary rediscovery of the American scene by American artists. Now the predominant modern school are honest recorders, sometimes bitter, of contemporary life which it is difficult to construe in any way other than as grotesque and raucous. The civilizing influence of this art must be, when it escapes being a mere depressant, that fulfilled by satire. It heightens one's appreciation of the unpleasantness of things as they are. The hoped-for phenomenon of our artists pioneering an art that is a new vision of life and influencing the American scene for the better, meanwhile apparently waits. "Only by making an art which in turn makes us can we attain spiritual maturity," concludes Mr. Barker. We suspect this is a vain hope: the spiritual maturity must come first.

Words to Wise Producers

A GOOD deal of valuable advice to motion picture producers is wrapped up in the report on the current film situation just issued by the executive committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. The committee does not withhold praise for the genuine progress toward acceptable standards which the industry has made in the two years since the production code administration was formed. However, it realistically points out that the only reliable method of enforcing this code is from without, by pressure of public opinion exercised through the boycott. Matters are still far from perfect, as the report justly shows in calling attention to the high average of "still distinctly low-grade" pictures, in which the lack of "depth, integrity and sincerity" operates with "destructive effect upon American ideals"; to the widely prevalent "false picturing of the love and ethics of true marriage"; to the "often open ballyhoo for race-track and other forms of gambling"—enhanced, as it truly says, by the practise of drumming up trade for neighborhood playhouses through such devices as "bank nights"; and to the very considerable jingoism and pro-war propaganda in films, including newsreels, which "go beyond legitimate picturing of the news to glorify the Army and Navy." As already stated, the committee suggests that the public protect itself from bad films by continued use of the boycott. It also makes the practical request for more reviews "giving particular attention to the social and moral value of pictures as well as to their dramatic and artistic merits." It might have added that Catholic periodicals have widely adopted this practise, and that their reviews are steadily increasing in usefulness to their readers, and coming to be adopted as an established feature of the Catholic social front. Producers should keep in mind always what they learned (not entirely painlessly) when the Legion of Decency launched its campaign: that motion pictures are a general public commodity, and cannot be regulated, in the mass, merely by the individual wish for gain—still less by esoteric private standards of taste and morality.

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THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

THOSE who wish to know the course this campaign will take and how it is likely to result can find the answers in the convention at Cleveland which nominated Mr. Landon. The parallel with the Democratic Convention of 1904 which nominated Judge Parker is exact in every detail. Parallels do not always hold good, but this one does, for a simple reason. It is that the effect on the voters is invariably the same in such cases.

"Look at the record," as Al Smith used to say. In 1904, the Democrats had suffered a smashing defeat in the previous election and were out of power in Congress, except as futile naggers of the administration; this has been the case with the Republicans for three years. In 1904, no candidate was in sight whom anybody knew anything about; so, too, in 1936. In 1904, the minority party planned to win by harmonizing all the contending factions for the duration of the campaign; so in 1936. In 1904, everything was done to mollify the Bryanites while nominating a candidate acceptable to the East; so at Cleveland with the Borahites.

In 1904, a platform was adopted which went far enough in every direction to please everybody, but not far enough to offend anybody. So at Cleveland. In 1904, the candidate was not satisfied with the platform, which omitted the word "gold," and telegraphed that he was a gold man; so did Mr. Landon in 1936. It angered the Bryanites in 1904, and in 1936 Mr. Borah was equally displeased. Mr. Bryan gave the ticket only nominal support, mostly silent; and so, at this writing, Mr. Borah intends to do.

In 1904, the candidate picked was picked for two reason. First, he had carried a state necessary to party success in a year in which the party had been defeated in most other places. The same reason applied to Mr. Landon. Second, nobody knew his views. Nobody knows Mr. Landon's. Judge Parker set about explaining his views to the country; so will Mr. Landon. In effect, what Parker was doing was introducing himself to a nation which knew nothing of him; and that is Mr. Landon's job. There had been, of course, plenty of publicity about Parker, designed to show what kind of man he was, and so there has been about Landon; but in 1904 it was demonstrated that that kind of publicity is good only for nomination purposes, not for election purposes.

In 1904, the desired harmony within the shattered party had been achieved, on the surface; so in 1936. The East and the West had kept silent and agreed with each other; so in 1936. Harmony is not enough to win an election, if your party is broken and discredited in the eyes of the silent vote; 1904 demonstrated this. In 1904, the minority had made a yea-nay record for three years, though united in agreeing that the administration was a menace and that the country would be better off with them in power. This has been the record of the minority from 1933 to 1936.

Despite his speeches, Parker did not succeed in introducing himself to the country. There was not time enough between the convention and the election. Only a great man could do this, and great men do not come out of the silences. There is not time enough for Landon. If both candidates were equally unknown, it would not matter; but in 1904, while the country knew nothing about Parker, it knew all about the President, whose name was Roosevelt. The same is true now.

The country was asked, in 1904, to buy a pig in a poke, and to open the poke after election and find out what the pig weighed. The country did not like it. It did not have to weigh Roosevelt, and he was not presented to it in a poke. All through the campaign the minority party was sure its poke tactics were certain to win, but on election day it turned out that Parker had been overwhelmed by the greatest landslide ever recorded up to that time. As for 1936, one has only to go about the streets and catch the chance conversation of John Doe and Richard Roe, and if he does he knows that in June the parallel with 1904 is exact even in this, and that in June the outlook for November is the same as it was in the case of the other Roosevelt.

Twenty years later the Democrats tried the pig-in a-poke experiment again, and also the same harmony-of-factions experiment. They nominated John W. Davis, who was as unknown to the country then as Parker and Landon. He did his best to make the country acquainted with him; stumped the land, speaking night and day. But it did no good; he had to start introducing himself too late. The country did know all about the President, who was Calvin Coolidge, and Davis was defeated by a landslide which made the size of Theodore Roosevelt's landslide against Parker look relatively insignificant.

Only three times has the pig-in-a-poke experiment been tried on the independent American temper: Parker in 1904, Davis in 1924, and now Landon. The results in the first two cases we know from history. No other poke has ever been presented; the story that Polk in 1844 was an un-

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known is sheer invention. It might or might not have been similarly presented if the Presidents against whom they have run were equally unknown, but Roosevelt in 1904, Coolidge in 1924, and another Roosevelt in 1936, were the most widely known men of their times.

"About this time look out for publicity campaigning," to alter the wording of the old almanacs. Publicity in a campaign is mapped out and strategically directed toward an intended end. The Democratic publicity director is a man whose strategical and tactical skill have been demonstrated in campaign after campaign. The Republican publicity, so far as yet exhibited, is in the preliminary direction of representing the Cleveland result as a surrender of the Old Guard to the Young Republicans.

While this is good publicity, as witness the streaming columns in newspapers of both parties, it is nonsense, for two reasons. First, there isn't any Old Guard and never was. The term denotes a group of powerful men, forever directing and bossing the party and its conventions in secret. The American dearly loves a menace; and the Old Guard is the same sort of menace as the secret, malevolent Pope pulling wires from the Vatican to get control of America through his blind tools, and just as factual.

When any group has run a Republican convention, it has never been the same group that ran the last one. The "smoke-filled room" convention of 1920 was run by a group led by ex-Senator Crane, Senator Lodge and Senator Brandegee, not one of whom had anything to do with running the one before it or the one after it. In 1896, the Old Guard consisted of Platt and Quay, who had been badly defeated by Westerners in 1892 but were now seemingly in control; when behold, a novice in politics named Mark Hanna from Ohio bulged into the scene and left them out on a limb. In 1900, Hanna was the Old Guard, but couldn't have his way, and Roosevelt was nominated for Vice-President over his vain protests. So it has been all through the party's history; it is a different Old Guard every time.

What, then, is this chameleon-changing Old Guard? It is whatever crowd of politicians happen for the time to be in control of the machinery and to be in momentary agreement. Always the groups out of power want the machine, and fight to take it away from the ridiculously misnamed Old Guard; and as a general thing they succeed. This year they call themselves the Young Republicans, though they are not noticeably young. The only difference between them and the Old Guard is that they would rather have the machine—and, it follows, the offices—than let the momentary Old Guard have them. The pretense reduced itself to absurdity this year when, in New York, it was the Young Republicans who committed the state to Landon, who was also the choice of such Old Guardsmen as Roraback of Connecticut, Edge of New Jersey, and Reed of Pennsylvania.

The second reason why this publicity, though good as publicity, is nonsense as a fact, is that there has been no "surrender." Nobody has surrendered anything, either in the Old Guard line-up or in the Young Republican one. If Landon were elected, he would consult the seasoned leaders fully as much as Theodore Roosevelt, being President, consulted Boss Quay, Boss Platt and Ringmaster Aldrich. The Young Republicans haven't surrendered anything either; they still have that chance at the offices they long for that they would have had if the Old Guard had not "surrendered." If this seems cryptic, then in plain language the Old Guard always does recognize the Young Republicans—or whatever their chosen title may be in a given year—in passing out the offices. The only question which concerns an office-bestower is, and always has been from Jackson's day, "Can this man turn in enough votes to make an office for him worth our while?" To make this as A B C as possible, this is why Ickes, not a Democrat but a bolting Republican, is in President Roosevelt's Cabinet.

The victory of the West over the East is also publicity and is also false. The Eastern politicians, whether Young Republicans or Old Guard, figured out long ago that without the Corn Belt they could not carry anything in this election. The way to carry the Corn Belt was to nominate a man from there. Kansas is, as Mr. Farley in one of his boomerang bursts of felicitousness called it, a "typical prairie state." Hence the East did not surrender to Landon, but picked him out.

The nomination, however, was made in no triumphant spirit, despite the manufactured glory-hallelujah scenic effects. What the Republicans—those of them who have sense—hope for is to carry enough states to make it apparent that Roosevelt's strength is on the wane. Voters like to vote for possible winners just as they prefer not to bet on a 100-to-1 shot in a horse race; and voters do not like to throw their votes away. If the Republicans can carry a few Corn Belt states and a few Eastern ones, then in the election of 1938, when governors and a Congress are chosen, a voter will feel that a vote for them will be a fair sporting venture. If that election turns in a Republican victory in Congress and in state offices, and if Roosevelt's popularity continues to ebb, everything is set for a Republican President in 1940. The Republican leaders, "old" or "young," believe this is a pretty sure thing; but to help it along it was necessary to nominate a Corn Belt man who would lose no state necessary to a good showing in this year's Electoral College. This explains Landon, and this was the pea under the shell at Cleveland.

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THE FATE OF THE LIBERAL

By GOETZ BRIEFS

In a previous article, Professor Briefs analyzed the underlying causes of the decline of liberalism. The present article asks the question: why has there been a drift to "rugged nationalism"? He finds that the first answer is to be sought in the fact that strong dogmas of class or group interest tend to find defenders against an all-prevailing confidence in intellectualizations. These defenders may be met most easily in the realm of economic and social discussion. Out of the contest a number of clear truths are emerging.—The Editors.

THE TIDE of rugged nationalism swept the stage of the Central European countries in the post-war period. Insane peace treaties, together with the emergencies of wide social groups mostly outside of labor, caused, in the realm of formerly authoritarian and therefore not outspokenly nationalistic states, the nationalistic upheaval of the war and post-war generation. Those groups who felt themselves menaced by big business or by free competition, joined the ranks of this nationalistic movement, whereas the group of intellectuals mostly stood aside. Very often it is this group which is identified with "liberalism": this is a paradox, inasmuch as this group transformed the gospel of liberalism and individualism into the nationalistic creed. In fact, nationalism has been, during the nineteenth century, a substitute for theology within the wide ranks of intellectuals. Now since this faith has conquered the masses they respond in rising against their patriarchs and apostles.

The deeper root of this phenomenon is this: The European intelligentsia since the eighteenth century had attained the function which formerly the theologians had, but without the strict responsibility and limitations of the *clericus*. The latter started from dogmatic truth and from an objective moral code; he could interpret it, but he couldn't proclaim his particular and private theological opinion and his particular and private moral code as *the* truth and *the* ethics. It is quite different with the intellectuals of this age. Liberalism was firmly convinced that truth is found by discussion of various individual opinions, and furthermore that truth is received in a process of development, so that the truth of today is error tomorrow. The belief in an inheritable objective truth has for a long time been vanishing. So also with ethics. The relativity of truth and ethics was an ethos, before it became a well-established theory. The next consequence of course was inevitably that the European intelligentsia very often lost this sense of liability and responsibility toward truth and ethics it should have from its very being and its social function. We know what in this regard the Encyclopedists meant for the French Revolution; the second great example is the function of the intellectuals in the Russian Revolution and in the building up of the soviets. And we realize from innumerable events in modern history which dynamics are set into motion through wrong ideas and false concepts. More than any age in known history the age of liberalism got the stamp of intellectualism, and tried to live up to intellectual concepts (a fact which is evident from the way shrewd advertising urges consumers to buy tooth-paste or egg-noodles because "the doctor" approves it). To quote an intellectual authority is evidence. Therefore books have played such a distinguished part in the history of social and economic movements of the liberal age. On the other hand, it is true that in the long run the people in the range of western civilization developed a kind of immunity against the ideas and ideologies this intelligentsia brought forth; they were impressed for a while, but after all, didn't take things too seriously. They developed a kind of ironic scepticism in a process of self-defense; they didn't lose entirely their common sense and their traditional standards of good and evil.

The historic reaction to such a situation may be twofold. It may happen that intellectual concepts and ideas meet with a strong group-interest, as was the case with pre-war Marxism in Germany, or with a strong faith in powerful individuals, as did Russian Bolshevism through powerful personalities like Lenin and Stalin. Or it may happen that an anti-intellectualism sweeps the stage and tries to form a new creed on an anti-liberal basis, as in modern Germany and Italy. However much in the former case reality may change the mere intellectual attitude, however much in the latter case intellectual roots may mix in the new creed: the foremost intention is exactly as analyzed and is, at least for a transitional period, the decisive fact. In both cases the fate of the intelligentsia is decided: a certain set of ideas will be dogmatized and placed above discussion. Clear-cut dogmatic decision is no pasture land for the intelligentsia. As far as it survives, the authoritarian State bends it under the rules of strict regulation and control, enforcing responsibility of thinking and promulgating ideas.

This dogmatized anti-liberalism as expressed in Fascism may be summarized in the following way: A new supreme value is proclaimed, a value

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of an obligatory character, be it the nation, the State, the race. Sometimes this value is transported to metaphysical heights and given the dignity of a religious value. A politcal élite headed by a charismatic personality defines and interprets this value and everything capable of realizing said value. A new political aristocracy forming an "order" protects and spreads these new values. They are of a strictly objective character, denying any allowance of arbitrary interpretation of the ethical standards. The organization of the nation corresponds to the participation in the leading value; a political hierarchy is built up according to the rank of values the groups have to realize. In fact, there is no more a "social" organization but only a political one. "Society" in the traditional sense of the word no longer exists. Man is defined as a political being only, having no sphere of private existence nor inalienable rights. Any rights men have are derived from the State or the nation and may be cancelled at any time. The spirit of the nation is one, its will is one. The freedom of conflict, competition, dissension and discussion which characterized the age of liberalism, is being restricted. In the economic and social sphere this means strike and lockout are forbidden; competition is no matter of principle, neither is monopoly; both are mere means in the hand of the ruling power, a matter of convenience. Fascism neutralizes the economic and social field by taking over the responsibility for wages and the general conditions of labor, by fixing prices and controlling profits, the capital market and the currency.

The State almighty and totalitarian, all-decisive, and all-responsible: this is the surprising end of a century of liberalism and individualism. It is the outburst of emotions against reason as the enlightenment period understood it; the protest of man against anonymous social and economic powers, the birth of a new faith in contrast with a fading old one. The adventurous spirit of European mankind since the Renaissance, which relied on individual freedom and entrusted the common welfare to the outcome of discussion and competition, is suffering a severe setback. This was a revolution, however peacefully it worked its way and however easily it overthrew the old faiths and institutions.

The present-day anti-liberalism has still another important counterfeit. It is Bolshevism. The Russian people had not gone through a period of enlightenment philosophy and liberalism. But part of their intelligentsia did, studying at western universities and absorbing with religious zeal all the new ideologies which westerners themselves took only with ironic scepticism, or which they tempered by common sense. Russia, however, weakened by the war, open to new forces and ideas, became the vast experimental field for western rationalistic ideas and western values like progress, belief in techniques, in maximum output and efficiency; they took over lock, stock and barrel the western economic materialism. The metaphysical urge toward redemption, so deeply rooted in this nation, shifted from the religious sphere to economic and social subjects —very much like the shifting of the Hegelian philosophy into the materialism of Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer in Germany. We should not take lightly this quasi-religious foundation of Bolshevism nor of Fascism. No rationalistic argument is valid against this basis of the new systems. No economic failure proves anything against them. They have another criterion of evidence than the traditional one, and an entirely different set of leading values, another ethos as modern ethics calls it.

One hundred years ago Donoso Cortés, in a strange and astounding vision, foresaw this Russian Bolshevism and its foundations. He visualized Russian Communism as the real menace of western civilization; he forecast a reign of despotism as the natural end of liberalism; he pointed out that in the last analysis the battle will be between the "satanic theology" of Communism and the theology of the Church. Only on this ground may properly be met the issues in question. The alternative is between *Homo imago Dei* and *Homo deificatus*. Liberalism, acknowledging God's "constituting" sovereignty and denying His "actual" sovereignty half-heartedly, tried to escape the ultimate decision. This was and is its intrinsic weakness in an age which urgently demands clear-cut decisions. This, if any, is the tragedy of European liberalism. Fascism and Bolshevism are anti-liberal in principle and fundamentally. Such dialectic anti-liberalism has not developed in all countries of the western civilization, but that the tide of liberalism is receding is evident in the field of economic and social problems.

In this long-lasting depression all these nations have given ample scope of power to their governments, and such governments were eager to utilize this power everywhere. They did so not only because this depression endangered the established order and undermined the very roots of national welfare and security. They did so because there were no other social units to do it. To leave the solution of the depression to the self-adjusting mechanism of economy seemed to be impossible because this mechanism had to work its way through nation-wide and international devastations. A *sauve qui peut* mood arose: among the nations and among the groups and individuals within the nations. Every far-sighted consideration was put aside from the motive that in the long run we all are dead. There is much truth in this; however, it is poor

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policy to commit suicide for fear of death. The more the State interfered the more it had to interfere; the panic-stricken social groups urged the State to act. It is this objective situation rather than an alleged will to power which dominates the State and the social groups. It is the objective situation which frustrates the liberal and individualistic institutions of our economic system. And this is true not only since the depression. The depression but unveiled and accelerated the tension between liberal and individualistic institutions and economic reality.

The focus of the crisis of liberalism is the change which took place in economic individualism. It is from this that liberalism loses its appeal and its convincing strength. Individualism under capitalistic conditions always meant something quite different for the various economic and social groups. One hundred years ago it meant the predominance of wealth in money form as against wealth in landed forms, the supremacy of mechanical techniques over old-fashioned handicrafts techniques, the difference between social groups owning private property and social groups living from hand to mouth by daily labor. At that time, the bourgeoisie and its philosophy was in the ascendancy, and even declining groups found their place under the favorable conditions of rising world economy. Since then the freedom of the markets has been increasingly curtailed for nationalistic reasons as well as by unsound politics. This is most evident since the war. In this age of abundance the nations pull their belts a notch or two tighter and proclaim security and self-sufficiency as their foremost goal. The inside pressure increases unavoidably. The reaction of the various social groups is the one it has always been under such conditions: an attempt to secure their own share of the national wealth and income and to increase it possibly at the cost of the weaker groups. But the weaker groups happen to be most numerous. They answer by transferring the issue gradually into the political field. Legislation becomes a weapon in the struggle for the share in wealth and income. The stronger economic groups react as far as is opportune and possible by escaping the pressure, e.g., through developing labor-saving devices, but they soon realize that this may be an individual means of escape but not a general one. Hence rises the conviction that the struggle must be met in the political field. Economic issues assume a political aspect.

In countries where the middle classes are still the basic element in the political life they have become more articulate during this depression than ever before. They mobilized public opinion through many programs, from "Share the wealth" and "Soak the rich" to Townsend plans and EPIC. In fact, the middle class radicalism was more violent in the United States than labor radicalism. Everybody knows the manifold and far-reaching interventions government made to secure and stabilize the conditions of agricultural and urban middle classes. They turn deaf ears when you tell them about the blessings of perfect freedom, free competition. They had all that. Now they want stable conditions and security. They are willing to yield to order and regimentation, they discuss the balance of freedom minus security against regimentation plus security, and they very often find the balance in favor of regimentation plus security. Many think that with the first signs of economic recovery the old adventurous spirit will return. But we should consider the following facts to judge the chances of a return to "rugged" individualism:

First: The masses of non-property owners have increased rapidly, the nation cannot any more be defined as a property-owning middle-class nation. And much of the prevailing property demonstrated its precarious character during this depression. The section of the nation which lives from hand to mouth is seemingly increasing. It has become more articulate than it ever was: thousands of educated men and women have joined the ranks of the masses, sharing the insecurity of their existence and their smallness of income. Masses of former middle-class standing joined them, with strong emotions and radical convictions. Rugged individualism cannot possibly be the gospel of large propertyless and dependent groups.

Second: The depression taught us what an economic crisis of some length means when large social groups in a nation lack any foundation of livelihood in property or in permanent jobs. They feel endangered in their physical existence; hence they are apt to do anything and to listen to any promises. The problem turns spontaneously into the political field. You cannot escape New Deals—you have only a choice between good and bad ones!

Third, and more fundamentally: The old philosophy and ethic of individualism decayed gradually. Monopolism and group individualism took its place. The well-tempered ethic of self-interest ruled by competition was replaced in vast sections of our economic life by a crude practise of reckless economic power. Only by curtailing the excesses of individualism, the abuse of economic power, may we hope to save so much liberty as our best traditions oblige us to save. After a century of subjectivism, after a libertine bacchanal the tide shifts back toward an objective order and toward a socio-economic balance. The unlimited individualism is losing ground, and it must lose ground if we are to safeguard the valuable kernel of liberalism: the freedom and dignity of the human personality.

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A PORTRAIT OF IRVING BABBITT

By AUSTIN WARREN

WHERE is truth to be sought? In the old and time-tested, or in the new and unventured? In the intuitions of the individual, or in our corporate aspirations? Do we "descend to meet" in convention, or rise to the standard set by society? Whether religious or secular, men who would alike, by popular parlance, be termed idealists have differed in their answers to these questions. Such a distinction assuredly lies beneath our split into Protestant or Catholic, romanticist or classicist. Personally unable to accept ecclesiastical and authoritarian conceptions of religion, Irving Babbitt always called himself an individualist; but such, in the current sense of the word, he was remote from being.

Babbitt's mind set early into its permanent position. When in his twenties his closest friend, Paul More, made his acquaintance, he had already become the integrated and inflexible intellect which held its course through the choppy waves of modern thought. He seems, indeed, to have been born full-grown. Equipment he went on gathering till his recent death; but, to the ridicule of some and the envy of others, his convictions remained steadfast, in casual conversation and published writing, from youth to old age.

This rapid maturity is explicable chiefly by his conscious and sharp differentiation from his boyhood milieu. His father, a physician by calling, illustrated the Transcendental impulse at its last and feeblest. An expansive humanitarian, he gathered to himself all manner of doctrinaires and sentimental freaks. Wherever in his migrations, from Ohio to California, he pitched his tent and hung out his shingle, he drew the same following of "advanced" Ishmaels. They infested the dinner table; on the piazza they rocked through evenings of interminable conversations or soliloquies. Phrenology, spiritualism and whatever was new and strange found earnest, excited exploration.

The doctor's son could never abide these eccentrics with their verbose panaceas. His instinctive response was to doubt these truths wafted in on the Pacific breeze, to stiffen in opposition.

Assisted meagerly but sufficiently by an uncle's money, Irving Babbitt came to Harvard, where, if anywhere in this progressive New World, civilization might be expected to make its last stand. Harvard was never to satisfy his expectations. For the person of President Eliot, Babbitt had respect; but for all the educator's "elective" works the young man, and the older man to whom he was parent, had avowed contempt.

He did his undergraduate work chiefly, as was natural and proper, in the classics; and he hoped to devote his life to the masterpieces of antiquity, to the expounding of Hellenic thought and the application of it to the current and the local. About prevailing methods of teaching Greek and Latin he had no illusions. Their practitioners impressed him as chiefly antiquarians and curators, the dead burying the dead. But he believed the interment premature, and proposed to demonstrate it by reanimating the hallowed corpses.

His services as resurrector remained unsolicited; and somewhat reluctantly he turned to that modern language in which he deemed most of wisdom to have been expressed, the French. But he never relinquished his attachment to the ancient classics, the *fontes et origines*. In later life, he chiefly read, during the academic year, such current books and magazines as would enable him to provide fresh illustrations for the unchanging principles avowed in his lectures; but during the summer, until the end, he turned back to what for him were the permanent sources of refreshment and rehabilitation — Homer (with Shakespeare, his most persistent fare), Pindar, Sophocles, Horace.

With Edmund Burke, Babbitt found the chief bulwarks of civilization to be the spirit of the gentleman and the spirit of religion; his two approved types of human endeavor were the *honnête homme* and the saint. In the course of his college years he studied Dante under Charles Eliot Norton, who, like Ruskin and Babbitt himself, refused to judge art without reference to the moral context in which it arose and the moral effects it subserved. He frequented Norton's Thursday evening *conversazioni*. He hung Norton's portrait in his study. When, in later life, he made reference to the "gentleman," its connotation was drawn from the greatest specimen of the *genre* he had known, the aristocrat of Shady Hill.

Norton in turn was prompt to recognize his junior's distinction of mind; and in the last year of his life he sent to a friend Babbitt's first book, "Literature and the American College," with an accompanying letter commending the author's "wide reading and independent thought," and avowing, "His conclusions are in the main such as you and I should approve. . . . It is a great misfortune for us nationally that the tradition of culture is so weak and so limited. In this respect the advantage of England is great. But I hail such a book as Mr. Babbitt's as an indication of a possible turn in the tide of which another sign is the literary essays of Mr. Paul More. . . ."

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II

Irving Babbitt in his classroom was an experience not before encountered nor ever to be forgotten. There, before one, sat an alert, powerfully built figure with massive head, carved in shrewd lines, and with piercing eyes offering effective contradiction to the grey hair and stoop of shoulders. About him there was nothing genteel or, as one had learned the outward and visible signs, gentlemanly. A green bag, stuffed and bulging, had accompanied the precipitate entrance of the professor; its contents, in the shape of books and disorderly papers, hastily unloaded upon the desk, the discourse began. Not a lecture in pursuance of an outline, it offered no clerical or professorial firstlies and thirdlies, indeed no discernible sequence, but instead a torrential flow of enunciations, theses, antitheses and epigrams. Frequently the discourse would find momentary interruption while the sage announced, "I choose an illustration at random" — as though the volcanic lava which covered the desk could, sporadically, disgorge a suitable specimen. It did. The example culled from Wordsworth or Mencken or jaggedly sheared from newspaper or current magazine proved so apposite as to startle the hearer with delicious surprise and uncoached amusement, eliciting a laugh in which the hierophant heartily joined.

The teacher, as one could read in the Harvard Catalog, was allocated to the department of French; and his examples came frequently from the literature in which he was presumably a specialist. But the citations were translated, as though the matter in point lay in "message" not manner; and quotations — innumerable in the course of an hour — came indifferently from literatures of which a professor of French might well cherish an invincible ignorance—from English and American, from German or Italian, from Latin and Greek—now and then from Chinese or Pali or Sanskrit. Nor were his citations restricted to *belles lettres*. The philosophers and the theologians appeared familiarly at the beck of the mage's easy wand, as did the historians and the scientists. Not only French, but even the vast terrain of literature seemed too scant for the ambitions of this aspirant to all knowledge and all wisdom.

Equally unprecedented and consequently puzzling was found the familiarity with which the teacher invoked these great names, these reverend shades of the illustrious dead. They were treated without the ceremony which one had supposed the due of authors in print—nay, in handsome and shelf-filling sets, men who had written "works" and appeared in histories. Never himself intimidated by opinions in proper print, our teacher treated the illustrious to no uncritical deference. He commended, he censured, he uttered mixed praise and blame; but—and this was the surprising effect of his irreverence—it brought the dead to life.

Even an uninitiated adolescent could gather that Mr. Babbitt as, leoninely restless, he crouched at his desk—ready, it seemed, to spring—was addressing his blows, thrusts, thumps at some unseen assailant, some enemy who, whilst we young had slumbered in nursery repose, was menacing the walls of the state, nay, more ominous, threatening the disruption of civilization. What this adversary might be, that remained for a time uncertain; but one could not doubt that the enemy was real and ominous; one was certain that Babbitt saw and grateful for his vigilance.

Here was a new kind of teacher: not a mere learned expositor, he taught with authority.

III

To Babbitt and his "philosophy," as one came to discern it, one must have possessed the lethargy of a graduate student in order to remain indifferent. His challenge divided the class into the receivers and the deniers; and upon the former group his influence was unquestionably hypnotic. That sanity should cast a spell, that counsels of restraint, decency and moderation should grow enticing—surely that was paradox enough. Yet so it was. Babbitt indoctrinated the faithful—of that there can be no doubt, and to advocates of the university as an intellectual cafeteria, this admission would be sufficiently damnatory of the teacher.

But Babbitt's service as teacher transcended his doctrine. To some who knew him only through his books he seemed an obscurantist; but for his students he was primarily an enlightener and an enlarger. Under his tutelage they first grasped the possibility of a literary history which should be more than names, facts, isolated authors or beautiful passages, comprehended the interpenetration of literary and social life, were compelled to define their terms, articulate and defend their principles. Babbitt taught men to think; and if those whom he inducted into this art came to differ from him, it was he to whom they owed their training. It was he who gave them the standards by which they found his doctrine at this point or that defective, his practise imperfect. T. S. Eliot, critical master of our generation, has typically testified, "Having myself begun as a disciple of Mr. Babbitt, I feel that I have rejected nothing that seems to me positive in his teaching. . . ."

Babbitt's closest identification was with the academic world; he was a teacher, unashamed of his vocation, and his chief service, it may well be, was performed within his chosen terrain. At a time when the accredited professors were eminent for their ability in the conduct and direction of research, Babbitt, almost alone, sought to develop the critical spirit and the critical method. His

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hostility to the American doctorate, conceived and administered according to Teutonic patterns, proceeded from no distaste for learning, at which for range and depth he was the peer of his ablest colleagues, but from the conviction that the university should be, preeminently, the center of sound criticism.

Though Babbitt became identified in the public mind with one cause, that which bore the never fully elucidated name, humanism, it was recognized in the academic world that he was also the proponent of a cause in one sense larger and more catholic—the cause of the humane study and teaching of literature. At Harvard he fought, in behalf of every American professor who believes that his function comprehends interpretation and criticism, against all who would restrict the academic office to fact-finding, fact-compilation, fact-reporting. Frequently viewed as a reactionary, he defended an academic freedom precious and perishable—the freedom to judge.

IV

In consequence of his emphasis on the *frein vital* and on the evils of most of what, from the late eighteenth century to our own day, has passed for "progress," Babbitt has passed for a Puritan and a constitutional denier. Like his admirer, the brilliant Wyndham Lewis, he has seemed most appropriately cast as the "Enemy." In hearty satire and invective he furnished the appropriate foil for his old and most influential assailant, Mr. Mencken. Had Babbitt been placed in a "classical" age, would he not have opposed its orthodoxy—was not his real rôle that of adversary? With his appeal to balance and symmetry, he would certainly have protested, as indeed he did in his Cambridge flesh, against formalism and pseudo-decorum; but that he would have been a rebel for rebellion's sake it is difficult to believe. His convictions, like Burke's and Johnson's, went deeper than what passes for common sense; but of sense and sanity he possessed too weighty a ballast ever to have played the aeronaut passive to the winds of temperament, whim and fashion. He had no affection of novelty, no wish to be thought different or original—though, in the best sense, he was both. That he felt alone seems palpable; but it is equally certain that, instead of congratulating himself on his solitude as badge of his genius, he found it, so far as his vigorous and cheerful nature could admit of complaint, to be a grievance.

If, in the once fashionable parlor pastime, he was asked, "When, in the past, would you like to have lived?", he made no hesitation in avowing at Athens in the age of Pericles. But he had no taste for such fanciful evasions of present reality. He accepted the age and the locale into which Providence had placed him, thinking that such matters were no part of his choice or responsibility, and that no environment could restrict one's manhood. Whatever one's context, one can bear his witness to the universal and the abiding. If the time be heterodox and the place provincial, so much the more do they stand in need of the wise man's testimony, and of so much the greater use he.

His genuine cosmopolitanism, which included the East as well as Europe, never had the effect of deracinating him. In becoming a citizen of the world he never saw the necessity for ceasing to be an American of Midwestern origin, born in 1865, and by profession a teacher at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Of countries save his own, he loved France best; and his occasional sojourns there were perhaps the most simply happy periods of his life. But he was little of a traveler; and it was the French mind, not the quaint and picturesque in a foreign land, with which he sought to acquaint himself. India and China he never visited in the flesh, despite his mastery of the Sanskrit and Pali tongues and his lifelong study of Hindu, Buddhist and Confucian thought.

Babbitt saw much that was shoddy and superficial and faulty and false in America and his countrymen; and, in the spirit of Matthew Arnold, he sought to employ his wider culture to the end of supplementing and rectifying our national character. But he had no false shame, and never sought to disguise his origin or deck himself in the trappings of alien peoples. Though he admired the older, firmer civilizations, he was too large and too sane to suppose that the benefits of those cultures could be acquired by a process so superficial as the adoption of their tweeds, their tea or their accents. For Babbitt, the task of self-culture was not so superficial; and, like Emerson, he sought to develop, and to exemplify, a culture which should have sloughed off the provincial while remaining eminently native.

What will become of his learned books, all of them dictated in the pungent, racy, vigorous idiom of his lectures, it is difficult to predict; and as for one who heard Babbitt's voice it is impossible to read without seeing and hearing the man behind the page, such an one must refrain from prophecy. He lacked, as a man of letters, both architectonics and skill at the style-conscious sentence. He was repetitious, as the teacher must be; like Arnold and every other effective propagandist, he was topical in his illustrations. If only art can preserve doctrine, then a time may come when Babbitt's remarkable books will no longer be read. The prospect would not have silenced him. Of ambition for fame, he had little; his own estimate of his literary powers was modest. His eye was fixed, not on posterity, but on the past, the present, and the permanent. Honestly, honorably, persuasively, in unpropitious times and climes, he bore his witness.

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THE RED DRIVE IN SPAIN

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

ONE HEARS a great deal these days about the "Red" drive in Spain. Hordes of agents from Moscow, well provided with gold, are pictured as flocking into Spain for the purpose of sovietizing the country with the utmost rapidity. The realities are different from this.

Spain's "proletariat" kaleidoscope is somewhat confused. It has a dozen or more parties owning to various shades and gradations of Communism, Syndicalism and Socialism. There are the Trotzky Communists; the Unified Marxists; the Socialists' and Communists' Youths' party, recently amalgamated; the Official, or Moscow, Communists; the Independent Syndicalists; the Workers' Alliance; the Socialists, and so on. All of these, with the exception of the Socialist party, constitute fragments from which are variously drawn the sixteen "Communists" and two "Syndicalists" who figure as deputies in the Cortes.

The true picture of Spain's "proletarian" movements must be studied in the actuations of its two important and traditional wings, the Socialists, who have more than ninety deputies in the Cortes, and the Anarcho-Syndicalists, who have none because Anarchists, being apolitical, are commonly supposed not to vote.

But a word about Moscow and its intentions in Spain, before going on. That Moscow has for a decade or more had Spain under its watchful vigilance, has its scouts in Spain, has hopes of sovietizing Spain at the opportune moment, is no secret. That the fortunes of the mass movement may at some given moment play into its hands is also within the range of possibility. The London *Times'* Russian correspondent reported (April 15) the departure for Spain of thirty Communists, "largely young Spaniards who have spent periods varying from six to eighteen months in the U. S. S. R. undergoing training in revolutionary practise." Here in Spain they may be expected to sow fresh seed straight from Moscow; only time will report on the fertility of the soil. But it must be borne in mind that Russia's most immediate interest with respect to her neighbors, as set forth in last summer's Seventh Congress of the Communist International, is not to precipitate the Red dawn in countries adhering to democracy, but to address herself to her more pressing problem of staying the advance of her greatest enemy, Fascism, in its various forms, and undermining it where it already exists. At that congress it was considered that the fomenting of disorder in democratic countries might, for the moment, merely injure the Communist cause by bringing wind to the Fascist sails, and that democracy might be considered as a temporary bulwark to Communism, to be demolished, indeed, when Communism found that opportune. (See *Foreign Affairs,* January, 1936, "Two Internationals Find a Common Foe," by Ludwig Lore.) This reference to Moscow Communism in Spain may be closed with the notation that up to the present it has made a very small dent.

To return, now, to the two main wings of the "proletarian" movement, the Socialists and the Anarcho-Syndicalists. As this is written, the Anarcho-Syndicalists, whose traditional stronghold is Barcelona, have opened a Congress in Madrid at which the main theme of debate is a political and revolutionary alliance with the Socialists. This would have a double significance, first as constituting a revolutionary about-face on the part of the Syndicalists who have heretofore abstained from political action, and also as constituting an impressive union of forces on the part of two groups which heretofore have been traditionally hostile. The alliance, which is being urged by leaders on both sides, would be a tactical one for the purpose of combat, not implying loss of identity or doctrine on the part of either organization. Paradoxically, such an alliance might be expected to constitute a barrier to Moscow Communism, for both Socialists and Syndicalists are opposed to the Moscow concept of the super-state as a means of controlling the masses.

The Socialists have their center of action in Madrid, their most revolutionary spokesman being Largo Caballero. Their labor organization is the "UGT" (Unión General de Trabajadores), whose adherents, variously estimated at around 2,000,000, are strongest in the interior of Spain. They sponsored the revolutionary events of 1934 in Madrid and Asturias.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists, besides dominating the labor situation in Barcelona, are strong in Saragossa and Seville and in numerous cities of the coastal periphery. They have likewise spread their doctrine among the Andalusian peasants. They are the sponsors of the *Sindicatos Unicos,* or unified syndicates, a term implying the organization of labor by industries instead of by trades, each industry having a single labor union embracing all the trades essential to that branch. Their labor organization is the "CNT" (Confederación Nacional de Trabajo). They can scarcely be said to have a leader, like the Socialists, the idea of authority implied in leadership being repugnant to anarchistic principles. It was this organization

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which, during the first two years of the republic, harassed the country with revolutionary movements culminating in the general disturbances of December, 1933.

The failure of these movements, the realization that their doctrine of solitary action was losing them support and heading them toward "suicide," the inroads upon their numbers being made by the smaller proletarian parties, of which the Moscow Communist party is but one, the growing prestige, in the eyes of "the masses," of the Socialists, are factors which now have impelled the Anarcho-Syndicalists to view favorably a pact with the Socialists. The alliance would tend to obstruct the advance of the minority forces already enumerated and to draw their followers into one or other of the two main camps by the methods of suction.

The numbers of the Anarcho-Syndicalists are subject to a somewhat barometrical rise and fall, according to whether the political atmosphere is favorable or unfavorable. Almost suppressed during the pre-Republican dictatorship, they rapidly rose to more than 1,000,000 in Spain and to some 400,000 in their stronghold, Catalonia. During the tenure of the recent Right government their numbers again considerably diminished; perhaps only 100,000 members remained active in Catalonia, for example, while their active membership in other parts of Spain was reduced in about equal proportions. However, Syndicalism has a strong hold upon its followers, who are again flocking to its standard, now that their numerous headquarters are once more permitted to open and their organization is again within the pale of the law.

The doctrines of the First International, as enunciated by its apostle Bakunin (or Bakounine), took deep root in Spain more than sixty years ago and developed in a way peculiarly Spanish. As opposed to the Utopian dreams of the Anarchists of France and other countries, it is intensely realistic. This accounts for its irrepressible labor organization, its "direct action" strikes, its revolutionary movements, and its unceasing efforts to give practical effects to its doctrines. It has produced something midway between Socialism, which sees the State as its medium, and that idealistic anarchy which would abolish all forms of organized society.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists have evolved, to take the place of the state, a system known as *Comunismo Libertario,* which might be translated as Liberating Communism, implying the liberation of the worker from the domination of the State. This is the Communism which until recently has been most commonly meant by references to Spanish Communism.

"To destroy the State and to create an economic and social superstructure"—such, in brief, is the aim of *Comunismo Libertario,* as explained to this writer by one of its spokesmen. It has thus a dual purpose, economic and social, with emphasis on the economic as most affecting the worker. The Liberating Communism of the future is to have two "organs" of action, the Confederation for Work Economy and the Iberic Confederation of Free and Autonomous Communes, called the CICA (Confederación Ibérica de Comunes Autonomos).

Its economic program consists in abolishing capital and socializing production for the benefit of the worker, who is to be placed in control of prime and industrial production in all its phases, including the final distribution of goods. Planned economy, under the direction of a Superior Council of Economy, is to be the order of the day. Production and distribution are to be scientifically organized with an eye to costs, to supply and to demand. The profits are to go to the workers. The economic program just cited gives a clue to the significance of unified syndicates.

In this scheme of things the CICA is to be the organ which supplants the State. It is to be composed of free and self-governing communes. Spanish regionalism fits in nicely with this plan. Each commune is to have its *junta,* or governing board, which in turn is to participate in the general *junta.* If it be objected that such a system in itself implies authority and a form of governing state, both inimical to anarchy, the Syndicalists reply that the distinction lies in the fact that the *juntas* are subject at all times to free criticism and, far from having definite terms of office as in the State, may be deposed at any moment by the communes for incapacity or other weighty reasons.

The idea that free criticism of the public servant constitutes a negation of authority is naively and peculiarly Spanish, an indication of the feudal trammels with which Spanish mentality is still bound, for Spaniards do not yet seem to have grasped the idea that perfectly liberal and democratic countries exist where the person of a public officer is not sacred, as in Spain, and that he may freely be taken to task without any diminution of his authority. Making the tenure of office contingent upon the pleasure of the people is perhaps more legitimately considered a blow at the conception of State.

As may be inferred, Liberating Communism would abolish the small bourgeoisie and their superior hierarchies in the domain of property and capital, and would plan all for the benefit of the worker.

Education has an important place in the scheme of Syndicalist evolution. It received considerable impetus with the establishment of the "Modern Schools" of Francisco Ferrer, whose dramatic execution by a firing squad at Montjuic prison in

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1909 is well remembered. He said it was necessary to have an educated generation which should be the soul of the workers' movement and that the monarchy feared the education of the workers as signifying the end of its privileges. Although the modern schools were abolished after Ferrer's execution, the education of the workers continues in a variety of labor-maintained schools and atheneums, among which may be mentioned the Anarcho-Syndicalist rationalist schools.

The alliance of Syndicalists and Socialists, if consummated, would be only a tactical expedient. What lies beyond is not clearly seen. As the Syndicalist spokesman said: "The facts will determine the issue." On the one hand there is always Russia standing eagerly by. On the other hand the present effervescence of the "proletariat" newly feeling its power, may die down; a greater humanity toward the worker may bring greater contentment. Harassed Spain may yet right itself.

A BELGIAN HERO COMES HOME

By LEO R. WARD

THE KING and the Cardinal, and of course the representative of the Pope and the American Ambassador, went with all the people to greet Father Damien's body as it touched Belgian soil at Antwerp. The crowd was thought to be less than 1,000,000 and smaller than that which gathered to bury King Albert, but it was immense and there were gatherings at the towns along the river as the ship came in and all along the way as the cortège went by car to Louvain, passing through Tremeloo, the town near where Father Damien was born. The room in which he was born is now a chapel, and the house a monastery.

He came home a hero. How the world kissed his leprous feet! How still the vast crowds were today and yesterday in the villages and cities as his body passed by, the mere wasting bones of it with the rusted beads still in his hands. At Antwerp there was hardly a sound, except a little buzz, a mere rustle, for the King, and another for the ancient farmer nephew of Father Damien who touched his cap nicely to the crowd. Children tired waiting and sat on the curb, mothers tired at last of holding their babies and put them for a moment into neighborly arms, a child or two ate ice-cream buscuits, and one man smoked at his pipe.

The procession was well ordered and yet a little as if at haphazard, the honored horses were a lovely white with white harness and raven-black pompons, mounted soldiers were the marshals and a group of them blew bugles which could seldom be heard because of the ringing of bells. It seemed that all the Boy Scouts of the nation were there; and hundreds of young girls, some all in white, some all in black or red or green or any one color, went without regard to pattern, and, along with the hundreds of unassorted flags of every town and province and club, gave color and life to the day.

M. Van Zeeland, the able Prime Minister, spoke briefly to the people. He said that we "cannot bow too low before this bier. It contains the mortal remains of one of the most genuine heroes that humanity has ever produced." He spoke of Father Damien's superhuman grandeur, which the lepers were the first to recognize when they saw that this humble man was willing to share all their miseries; and as for ourselves, he said, "tired out with our own littleness," it is something to salute with one voice this universal hero.

The procession was exceedingly slow in getting through the crowds, for everybody, in the cathedral and the streets and the roads, wanted to pay tribute to Father Damien; and it was not till after midnight, three hours behind schedule, that the body arrived at Louvain. Still, nearly all the people, told that they would have to wait an hour (many had already waited longer than that), then another, then a third hour, waited standing four deep on both sides of the street from the Place of the Martyrs to the college Church of St. Pierre, a stretch of toward half a mile. At midnight then of a night much like summer, there was a stir, the people ran to their places, climbed again into windows, stood on balconies, perched on tall shoulders or on step-ladders, to watch for the body.

The Americans went ahead, as they did at Antwerp, then the groups that were not too badly broken by the long delay, then the members of Father Damien's own order of the Sacred Hearts bearing torches and flanked by lines of soldiers. They went up the Avenue des Alliés, which was all rebuilt from the ground not long ago, to the church, and there the body was guarded through the night in the open church. This morning there was solemn Mass, and the cortège, swelled now by the professors, made its way through throngs, through crooked little by-streets, through an old market where on Fridays women go with big baskets balanced on their heads and boys and women haul things with the help of dogs hitched under the carts.

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The poor tiny Church of St. Joseph where Damien's bones are finally laid away is, it seems to us, the poorest in this city of churches; it is on a hillside facing a small open place where they hold minor circuses and carnivals; it is the foot of a V formed by what seem to us two of the roughest, narrowest, dingiest streets of Louvain. But this wretched little church is from noon today a national shrine.

People will honor the name and the deeds and the last remnant of Father Damien; he was willing to share all the misery of the most miserable and to share it alone, and people know that they are to honor such generosity: there is no argument about it. If today Damien is an American hero, and indeed he has always been this, and if the Americans felt honored in going at the head of the procession with an immense one of their own, happily from the city of Washington, carrying the flag, Damien is of course much more and more properly a Belgian hero. The Holy Father sends greetings and says that Damien belongs to the Church and the world, and of course he does; still, the Belgians have no thought that he belongs to anyone else as he belongs to themselves.

The village of Tremeloo, his village, built a triumphal arch for his body to pass under, and the villagers stood evergreens in the streets by way of proper decoration. Yet even that town cannot take this man as just its own, as he belongs to the whole people. No matter how one might otherwise applaud or scold them, one would have to say that the Belgians are a great people for family life; and Damien is to them today not simply a neighbor or a man from another village, but a man of each one's own family; people seem to say, "Bone of our bone—one of us"; and surely it is not as if the mere remains of Damien came home, but the living man.

They need heroes, they need inspiration—of course, as any people does. Cardinal Mercier, just ten years dead, is one of their undying kings, "simple," the people say, "and learned and kind—a saint"; and they keep the room where he died in Brussels just as it was then and look on it as a holy place. He was a real hero, who met real national problems, and did not know, learned and wise though he was, what it is to flinch. Father Damien is their other great modern hero. He too saw a problem, he went to meet it; a simple, rough, not learned man, he did not know what cowardice or worldly prudence is, and he probably solved the problem better than any well-tutored group could have dared to think of doing it, or having it done; certainly he did not know what is meant by cost or danger or the ungenerous spirit. He comes home today not romantic or remote at all, but present and as real as heaven or earth.

Communications

NOTE TO "A NOTE ON MEXICO"

Spring Hill, Ala.

TO the Editor: Notices in the Mexican papers that Portes Gil has gone to San Antonio to arrange a compromise with Archbishop Ruiz, the Apostolic Delegate, on the Church situation render worthy of comment Mr. Ralph Adams Cram's puerile plea for Cárdenas under "A Note on Mexico," in your May 22 issue. Portes Gil, who when President of Mexico arranged the ruinous Church "Settlement" of 1929 and a week later at a Masonic gathering forswore whatever was in it advantageous to the Church and followed this up with the execution of the amnestied Cristeros and more drastic persecution than before, is now both Supreme Head of Grand Orient Masonry and of the National Revolutionary party, whose primary plank is to eradicate religion and Church. Whence it is plain that however serviceable the compromise he may arrange may prove to President Roosevelt and his party at election time, it will be of no service to the Church or religion. His word is even less reliable now than it was in 1929.

Yet Mr. Cram would have us place confidence in Cárdenas, for whom Portes Gil is acting, and keep "hands and tongues off," while his own tongue talks off the record. His account of crowded and devout attendance at Mexico Cathedral, Our Lady of Guadalupe Shrine, and some churches in Puebla and Cholula on certain occasions, would leave the impression that everything looks rosy for the Church in Mexico, especially after President Cárdenas provided by decree for the opening of "about 3,000 churches" and "stated that the government waged no war against religion but only against interference of the Church in political affairs."

My own observations in Mexico City, Puebla and Cholula do not correspond with Mr. Cram's, except in the loyal devotion of the people, especially the gentle and friendly *peones* whom you could see in prostrate devotion or in group recitation of the rosary in the many confiscated and priestless churches from Mexico to Puebla. Mr. Cram does not mention that the "outside priests" who occasionally assisted the *cura* or said Mass in priestless churches were hunted men who did so at the risk of life and liberty, and that the *cura* was ever on the watch, as they informed me personally, for seizure and closure by government troops; and that the papers record almost daily instances of armed attacks upon the government's socializing schools and educators and violators of churches including the recent petition of socialist teachers for armed guards to protect them while extirpating the "God-myth"; or that since Cárdenas's alleged Church opening decree eight more have been confiscated, two of them in the Federal District by Cárdenas himself, and that the then 190 registered priests for all Mexico have since been reduced to 170; or that in the less than 300 reopened churches, most of them opened forcibly by the people themselves, not one priest has been authorized to function.

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Mr. Cram's implied charge of the Church's "interference in political affairs" reveals a naive ignorance of Mexican matters. For more than half a century the Church has had no legal personality, its prelates and priests have no citizen rights whatsoever, and any properties they are even presumed to be connected with by residence or religious service are thereby confiscated to the State. Such confiscations took place a few weeks ago in Puebla, which Mr. Cram presents as an object lesson in religion's happy freedom, one from an American citizen, Mr. T. S. Hunter.

In fact Cárdenas has issued a special decree enforcing the laws confiscating all properties where priests have resided or have held service, and offering official reward to all informers supplying presumption thereof. In thus threatening ruin to the shelterers of priests, Cárdenas has dealt the most deadly blow to religion and its ministers. But his pet scheme is incalculably more destructive, and would be so if all the churches were thrown open and priests functioning in every one of them.

In his preparatory speaking tour and in his announcement permitting governors to open unconfiscated churches, President Cárdenas stated distinctly that church services could now be disregarded since their socialist educational system was effectively "defanaticizing" the present generation and purifying the people of "religious superstition," which will be completely accomplished by the resolute prosecution of universal socialist education. This forecast is confirmed in a recent letter by Archbishop Gonzalez, secretary of the Mexican Bishops' Committee. To a long list of clergy expulsions and other instances of "persecuting fury that reaches incredible extremes," he adds: "All this is of secondary importance compared to the socialistic attack on Christian education."

As proof that this school system is atheistic, he cites the "Simientes" school texts, issued by the Department of Education with laudatory Preface by Cárdenas himself, which are a series of vicious assaults on all revealed religion and the elements of morality and decency. All other schools are banned and even licensed priests who say a word against them are expelled. The Archbishop concludes: "Verily if the situation is not remedied soon the coming generation will be ready to aquiesce in the implantation of a Soviet régime in Mexico as frightful as the system in Russia."

Citing the Cárdenas order to state authorities for strict enforcement, the Archbishop continues: "That the socialist school is intended to uproot religion and religious principles is clear from the text of the law, from its exposition by Congress and by the Department of Education, from the official textbooks that decry God and religion and sexual morality, from the mural paintings in the classrooms that bemock what is most sacred in all sancitities. . . . But it is distressing to have to demonstrate the obvious, that a state of legal and constitutional religious persecution dominates in Mexico, and the government's schools aim to fill the children's minds with the hatred of God."

He instances a declaration required of teachers in Durango and Michoacan, and substantially elsewhere: "I categorically declare that I do not profess the Catholic or any other religion. I also categorically declare that I agree to combat by all ways and means the Catholic and any other religion. Furthermore I categorically declare that I shall not practise in public or private by any act of worship of God the Catholic or any other religion."

It is true that Cárdenas is "no grafter," but not true that "his agrarian policy is sound." He is a totalitarian Communist from both the economic and anti-religion viewpoints; and his sincerity, in which he stands alone, makes him all the more dangerous. His narrow mentality and lack of education render him manageable by the clever Portes Gil and the forcible Communist Toledano, the real rulers, both as eager as he to exterminate religion. Hence Mr. Cram's "Note" looks like groundwork publicity for Gil's conference compromise.

This will consist of a promised extension of Church liberties, without repeal of the laws and constitutional articles that abrogate them, conditioned on the Church's non-interference with the government's educational system. Such a compromise would look plausible to even a Catholic politician in election times; but it would be deemed disastrous by Archbishop Gonzales and the Mexican lay leaders, who are now exhausting all their resources to counteract the Cárdenas atheizing processes.

They are looking to us now for the financial help that will enable them to continue resistance to the most imperiling policy of Cárdenas, which Mr. Cram has ignored, the atheo-communist school system. This help we should render for our own sake as well as theirs. If the United States Church does not now enable her Mexican sister to escape Communist destruction she may find, like the smug capitalists of 1929, that she herself is sitting on a volcano.

No, Mr. Cram, we must not trust Cárdenas. We must not hold our tongues. All of us, Church and press and people, should rather cease to be tongue-tied about Mexico.

REV. MICHAEL KENNY, S. J.

IN JAMAICA

Highgate, Jamaica, B. W. I.

TO the Editor: Last Sunday His Lordship, the Right Reverend Thomas A. Emmet, D.D., confirmed a class of little Jamaicans at Preston Hill, an outlying mission post under the spiritual care of Reverend James J. Lyons, S.J. I wish that some good Catholics of New York or Boston or some other such cities could have seen the vestments and especially the cope worn by Bishop Emmet. Being merely a visitor here on the island I resolved to appeal to some of your generous readers. Father Lyons has eleven such mission stations under his care. I pray that this letter may fall under the eyes of those who can and will give. The central Mission Station is Highgate P. O.

F. X. D.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—In connection with the World Catholic Press Exposition at Vatican City a number of special congresses will be held at intervals during the next few months. Some will consider such problems as the moral aspects of modern propaganda technique, broadcasting, motion pictures and the training of Catholic journalists. The International Congress of the Catholic Press will be held in September, the Congress of Missionary Unions of the Clergy and the International Thomistic Congress in November. * * * Archbishop Samuel A. Stritch of Milwaukee will celebrate a pontifical high Mass, June 28, in the University of Wisconsin stadium at Madison, as a part of the Wisconsin centennial ceremonies. * * * On arriving at San Francisco High Commissioner Frank Murphy spoke of the intense preparations in the Philippines for the Thirty-third International Eucharistic Congress next February. He said that today 12,000,000 of the islands' 15,000,000 are Catholics. * * * The Society for the Propagation of the Faith has set $2,000,000 a year as a goal for American contributions to the missions, an average of $.10 a person. At present the Society can give each of the 77,000 working in mission fields only $.15 of the $1 a day needed for subsistence and their work. * * * Motor missions to non-Catholics in forty-two Missouri towns in the Archdiocese of St. Louis and the Diocese of St. Joseph will be carried on by twelve Vincentian priests during the summer months. The missioners are publishing a periodical for non-Catholics entitled *Good News.* * * * There are more than fifty English Catholic Evidence Guilds with 600 lay speakers, men and women, and the movement has spread to Scotland, India and Australia. * * * Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia, pontificated at the solemn Mass on Pentecost in the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris and took part in the ceremonies commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Association of French Catholic Youth, which were attended by 40,000 youths from all parts of France and delegates from twenty-two countries. * * * Bishop Francis P. Keough of Providence celebrated a solemn pontifical Mass of thanksgiving, June 7, in observance of Rhode Island's 300th anniversary.

The Nation.—Congressmen worked in an interlude of legislation between conventions. The Senate changes in the relief bill were accepted in general by the House conferees, although the latter were instructed to bring in the PWA and Florida canal appropriations for special consideration. A compromise on the tax bill proved more difficult to attain. It appeared that the tax on undistributed corporate incomes would reach much higher figures than the Senate voted originally. * * * The Wagner housing bill passed the Senate easily, and House friends were trying to force the companion Ellenbogen bill out of committee. The substitute Guffey coal bill passed the House. Evidently the drive to end the session would not permit consideration of much more important legislation. * * * The National Industrial Conference Board announced that we spent $14,449,000,000 through federal, state and local governments in 1934. This was $114.11 per capita and 16 percent of the population's total income. Federal expenditures were 47 percent of all governmental expenditures. Tax collections for 1934 were $8,767,000,000. The gross governmental debt on February 29, 1936, was estimated at $50,000,000,000, up 50 percent since 1929. The per capita gross governmental debt on June 30, 1935, was $376.24. * * * Basing its decision on the Supreme Court's Guffey Coal Act ruling, the Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans judged that the National Labor Relations Board has no power to regulate employer-employee relations in manufacturing plants. The judges held that the men are engaged in local production; not interstate commerce. * * * The Georgia Supreme Court upheld the conviction obtained in 1932 against Angelo Herndon, Negro Communist, whose cause has been widely espoused by revolutionary and liberal organizations. The law he offended against by having Communist literature in his room was a reconstruction statute passed in 1871, which his defense claims violates both the Georgia and federal constitutions.

The Wide World.—Leaders of the Popular Front struggled hard to maintain control of strikers' groups in France. They emphasized the need for orderliness and pointed out that their government had accomplished more in a week than preceding régimes had done in years, while Communist organizers were assuring their followers that plant collectivization would soon be a fact. Red flags were hung on the towers of Nancy cathedral. Workers in Lille were in a holiday mood. Meanwhile strikes of considerable seriousness were reported from Belgium. * * * The German situation continued to be genuinely enigmatical. Reports that an organization of Roehm followers had banded together in order to take revenge for the June massacres and the "sell-out" of the revolution were categorically denied by the government, but dependable observers maintained that something of the kind was afoot because a series of inexplicable party murders could be accounted for in no other way. The Associated Press sent from Zurich a story declaring that the Swiss government had obtained from a German Gestapo agent a confession that he had been ordered to attempt the assassination of Dr. Heinrich Bruening. From Greece Dr. Hjalmar Schacht reported the signing of a trade agreement assuring the exchange of Greek staple products for Germany's manufactured wares. * * * There was a threat of civil war in China, as armed forces under the control of the Cantonese government were set in motion ostensibly to resist Japanese aggression in the north. Nanking responded by sending troops southward, but the clash did not materialize owing, it is believed, to effective diplo-

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matic intervention. Foreign warships were in evidence in South China waters, the Japanese navy professing its readiness to proceed to Canton if necessary. * * * In London Mr. Alfred Duff Cooper painted a grim picture of the contemporary international scene. "The situation in Europe is far worse than it was in 1914," he asserted. "There is no man with the slightest knowledge of it who would deny that statement, and still we are joking and laughing and refusing to face facts." * * * A treaty between Japan and Manchukuo grants that the policing of the new state shall be taken over by Manchukuo on January 1, 1938. This implies abolition of certain Japanese extra-territorial rights, but does not mean the removal of troops. * * * In Vienna Karl Kraus, editor of *Die Fackel* and most illustrious of Austria's post-war satirists, was dead. He was a master of aphorism and invective alike. Perhaps the best-known of his longer works is "Wolkenkukucsheim." Kraus was a Jew whose achievement was much relished, with important reservations, by younger Catholic intellectuals.

* * * *

The Bonus and Relief.—On June 15, the largest government pay day in our history, some $1,500,000,000 in small checks and $50 baby bonds was sent out to 3,000,000 of the nation's World War veterans—soldiers, sailors, nurses and Navy Department clerical workers. Conversion of these bonds to cash was expected to require several days and there was considerable speculation as to the destination of large slices of that huge sum. Manufacturers of automobiles, radios and electric refrigerators were particularly hopeful. In the meantime authorities in Boston, Newark and other localities announced that veterans who had received bonuses would be temporarily dropped from relief rolls, while Commissioner William Hodson of New York City announced that after this month the State of New York would withdraw its 40-percent contribution to veterans on local relief rolls until their bonus money is spent. The state of New Jersey continued to struggle with relief difficulties. Federal Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins reported, June 15, that an investigation of 1,200 of the cases thrown back on local relief since the middle of April had revealed "starvation and disease" in many homes due to inadequate relief. He said that "in a number of the communities surveyed local officials have refused to give relief to many cases in serious need and even in dire distress." Both Houses of the State Legislature agreed, June 16, to set aside for relief the coming fiscal year $6,000,000 of the inheritance tax on the estate of John T. Dorrance, late president of the Campbell Soup Company.

Chinese Rumors.—As straight as one can get news from China, there appears to be in progress a major movement toward civil war. The southern province of Kwangsi, developed during the past five years into apparently the most disciplined, graft-free and progressive district of China by the virtually independent general Pai Chung-hsi and his non-resident collaborator, Li Tsung-jen, has undertaken military steps toward the north. Kwangsi is poor, having only 12,500,000 people and not a mile of railroad. Lately, 2,000 miles of automobile roads have been built and an excellent and well-equipped army trained. The financing of the recent work has caused enormous strain. Major source of military funds has been a tax on the opium trade through the province and with Kweichow and Szechwan. Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to interfere with the opium trade in this district, where, since 1935, he has conducted large personal campaigns against Chinese Communists, has made the revenue of Kwangsi even more disastrously low. The Kwangsi movement must expand to richer areas or die out. Although relatively very close-knit and tough, the Kwangsi régime has not the strength of numbers or riches. The neighboring province of Kwantung, under the dictatorship of the Cantonese, Chen Chia-tang, dominates it in both, and is the traditional counterbalance to the Nanking government of Chiang Kai-shek. Last week the two provinces were apparently advancing northward together into Hunan, proclaimedly to fight the Japanese, certainly to threaten the national control of Chiang Kai-shek. The latter mobilized his modern troops and propaganda in overwhelming force to checkmate them. Chen Chia-tang backed his Cantonese away after staging an enormous anti-Japanese demonstration in his city. The Kwangsi forces remained poised for a northward drive but apparently isolated, since the country did not rise up as hoped, except for the students.

G. K. Chesterton. — Gilbert Keith Chesterton, for about forty years one of both the most real and most legendary figures in literary and public and English and Catholic life, died in England on June 14. He was born in 1874 and became a Catholic in 1922. In 1901, he married Frances Blogg, who became a Catholic in 1926. He called himself a journalist, having started out with magazine and newspaper work, and publishing his own magazine, *G. K.'s Weekly,* a full page "column" weekly in the *Illustrated London News,* and innumerable articles for newspapers and periodicals in England and America. Instead of going to college Chesterton went to art school, and he continued to sell drawings right through his career. As a controversialist he was almost without peer, starting that work by attacking the Boer War in London, and successfully pursuing it in England and on visits to this country, where he downed Cosmo Hamilton in a famous debate on divorce, and Clarence Darrow on the question of whether the world would return to religion. A bibliography of his books would include almost seventy titles, and the fields they represent are: poetry, drama, novels, detective stories, short stories, essays, biography, history, travel books, philosophy, hagiography, religion. Besides constantly writing, he gave numerous lectures and was considered the best after-dinner speaker in England. He was an active worker for many causes and an active member of many organizations and clubs. His title as "Prince of Paradox" was well-earned and universally recognized, but perhaps emphasized too much, since his poetry, which many consider his best work, and many of his more serious books are not especially paradoxical in

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style. Chesterton was a great apologist for the Church, and a most downright and uncompromising opponent of its opponents, but his attacks and counter-attacks were delivered in such a manner that no one felt him an enemy. In 1934, Pope Pius conferred upon him Commandership in the Order of St. Gregory the Great.

Father Nieuwland.—Visiting the Catholic University of America, the Reverend Julius A. Nieuwland, famous Notre Dame scientist, was stricken with a heart attack from which he did not rally. Thus was ended the career of the foremost priest-scientist yet reared in the United States. Father Nieuwland's specialty was studying the reactions of acetylene hydrocarbons, substances dangerous to handle but which he dealt with much as a veteran snake-charmer does with venomous serpents. The interest was aroused during years as a student at the Catholic University, where he wrote a doctoral dissertation. He kept on working in Notre Dame's old Science Hall, where there was scarce room enough to turn around. Later a modern and fully equipped Chemistry Laboratory afforded greater experimental opportunity. Father Nieuwland was, however, by no means only a chemist. He was greatly admired as a botanist by the late Edward Lee Green, and for many years went out hunting new flora with undisguised zest. Temperamentally he was a recluse, who derived little pleasure from either companionship or recreation. Most of his personal associations were the result of editing the *Midland Naturalist,* the pages of which he kept rigidly free of blunders against grammar and syntax. During the war, which he followed with keen interest as a son of Belgium, he came into prominence as a contributor to the invention of Lewisite, a deadly gas, and as a research worker in explosives. Meanwhile he had labored diligently to discover a method for the production of synthetic rubber. In 1925, a Du Pont official heard him speak on the subject, saw the possibilities in what Father Nieuwland had already learned, and induced the great company to place its resources behind the Notre Dame chemist. Today synthetic rubber could be sold for $.35 a pound. During 1935 he was honored for these achievements by the American Chemical Society and the American Institute. Father Nieuwland was born in Hansveke, Belgium, and accompanied his parents to this country at an early age. The family settled in South Bend, Indiana, the son went to Notre Dame, and the rest followed naturally. Death occurred on June 11.

Parker T. Moon.—Death came very suddenly to Professor Parker T. Moon, on June 11, at his New York home. He was widely known as a Columbia University authority on international relations and as an active Catholic worker in the cause of peace. "The Red Network" listed him as a "dangerous radical" by reason of his interest in projects designed to combat world imperialism as a cause of war, the chief sin being his presidency (beginning 1931) of the Catholic Association for International Peace. As a matter of fact, of course, he was perhaps the most effective American commentator on Pope Benedict XV's encyclicals, illustrious documents frequently treated as if they did not exist. With his friend and teacher, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, he taught and wrote in the spirit of opposition to "nationalism as a religion"; and it was this clear drift of his mind which brought the famous attack upon the Hayes-Moon "Modern History," banned in New York after protests from patriotic organizations and from an Episcopalian clergyman. Professor Moon was characteristically suave, pleasant, adroit—a scholar who was always a fastidious man of the world. During 1917 he became a member of the Colonel House Commission of Inquiry; and at the Peace Conference of 1917 he served as secretary of the Commission on Territorial Problems. Upon several subsequent occasions he went to Europe on important scholarly missions. Apart from textbooks, of which he helped to write several, he was the author of "The Catholic Social Movement in France" (1921), "A Syllabus on International Relations" (1925) "and "Imperialism and World Politics" (1926). He lectured widely and indefatigably. Born in New York on June 5, 1892, he was educated at Columbia, where he rose steadily to the rank of full professor.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—At Washington fifty-seven delegates have been chosen for the first World Jewish Congress which will open at Geneva, August 8. Resolutions adopted called for a commission empowered when necessary to make representations before specific governments or the League of Nations, a research and information bureau on anti-Semitism, an institute of economic research, a special relief commission and a central commission on migrations. * * * Reverend James Myers, Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, declared that "the conditions of cotton tenancy reveal tragic poverty and misery in the entire cotton belt including many states, and are by no means confined to Arkansas. . . . It is still more distressing to those who believe in American democracy and its principles of civil liberties to learn of the extensive evidence of flagrant denial of these civil liberties and of the widespread terrorism which has occurred during the past year and in recent weeks in eastern Arkansas against the Southern Tenant Farmers Union," an organization endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. * * * Eleven ministers and four laymen resigned from the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., June 8, to found the Presbyterian Church of America, a denomination which calls for a strictly literal interpretation of the Scriptures.

New Communist Constitution.—A new Constitution for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has been approved by the All-Union Central Executive Committee and will be offered for passage into law, perhaps with emendations, by the All-Union Congress of Soviets which has been called to meet in November. A Congress with two houses with equal powers of legislation is provided for in the new Constitution, and one of these Houses, the House of Deputies, will be elected by secret ballot. This is considered a concession to democratic ideas. The other House will continue the present system of pyramid-

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ing the soviet, or council, organization. The two Houses will elect the President of the Soviet Union, with four assistants; a Presidium of thirty-one members, and a Secretary; and have the power to appoint and discharge members of the Council of Commissars, which with the Presidium will rule the country when the Congress is not in session. The members of the Congress will be elected for four years and may be recalled by a two-thirds vote of their constituents. When the two Houses, which will be known as the Supreme Council of the Union, disagree there will be new elections. Freedom of speech and press are proclaimed and the New York *Times* Moscow correspondent asserts, "The Constitution allows full religious freedom." The first part of the document, a sort of preamble setting forth the general purposes of Communism, is said to be notable because it no longer divides the world into hostile camps of Communists pitted against capitalists and no longer calls for a world revolution. It is content with asserting the success of Soviet Socialism in Russia.

Ulster Dictatorship.—The Commission of Inquiry appointed by the National Council for Civil Liberties in England to investigate the purpose and effect of the Special Powers Acts of Northern Ireland has just issued a report that actual findings "make it difficult to contradict the assertion" that the policy of the Unionist government "has resulted in the inflammation of religious bigotry and the aggravation of sectarian differences amongst the North Irish Community." When organized bands of "Orangemen" and "Protestant Leaguers" have interfered with non-partizan meetings and demonstrations of workers or terrorized working-class districts and stoned the offices and clubs of labor organizations, the government has made little use of its drastic special powers. Important judicial and official positions are to a large extent closed to practising Catholics. Another factor demonstrating the close connection between the Orange Order and the government of Northern Ireland is that the "B" Specials, the bulk of the auxiliary constabulary, in practise are comprised solely of those who profess the Protestant faith. The Special Powers have been invoked against Protestants and Catholics who were working for a United Ireland and also against workers who made strenuous efforts to obtain better economic conditions. One of the members of the impartial inquiry commission, Mr. W. McKeag, declared in an interview in the Newcastle *Evening World*, "We were shadowed by detectives from the moment we landed until the moment we came away. We came to the conclusion that the position in Northern Ireland today is paralleled only by continental dictatorships."

* * * *

Commodity Speculation Control.—The same kind of control now exercised by the Securities Exchange Commission over the sale of stocks and bonds, was extended to the commodity exchanges with the signing by the President of the new Commodity Exchange Act. The law amends the Grain Futures Act to give the government regulatory control over future trading in grain, cotton, mill feeds, butter, eggs, potatoes and rice, under the supervision of a Commodity Exchange Commission comprising the Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and the Attorney General. Futures commission merchants and floor brokers on commodity exchanges, are required to register with the Secretary of Agriculture. Protection for customers' margin accounts are provided, and wash sales, cross trades, accommodation trades, fictitious and fraudulent transactions are prohibited. The commission can fix limits to trading to eliminate excessive speculation, but the act provides that no limitations shall apply to hedging transactions. To enforce its regulations, the commission is authorized to issue cease and desist orders against exchanges, offices and agents. The act also provides for warehousing reports on commodities which may be delivered under futures contracts. Drastic curbing of "economic ills resulting from market manipulation and excessive speculation" was foreseen by the head of the Grain Futures Administration. The President of the Chicago Board of Trade foretold renewed prosperity in the grain business as the bill would remove legislative uncertainty. Various organizations of traders have opposed the bill on the ground that it would give too much authority to the Secretary of Agriculture and grant monopoly privileges to big farm cooperatives.

Steel.—For the week ending June 13, steel production was at 71 percent of capacity, up one point in a week and two points in a fortnight. Extensive repairs would now be necessary before additional idle equipment could be brought into use. It is confidently reported that United States Steel will earn over $1 on its common stock the second quarter of this year, the first money earned on its common since 1931. Meanwhile the labor problem in steel approaches a crisis. On June 17, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee held its first meeting in Pittsburgh, and within ten days 200 organizers were to spread through steel districts. At McKeesport the first mass meeting for steel was scheduled for June 21. The Organizing Committee is made up of representatives of the ten unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization, who bring with them $500,000 for the drive, and the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Company unions in steel are making determined efforts to coordinate the isolated plant units into a national organization. The Chicago area already has 42,000 workers from ten mills united in the Associated Iron and Steel Employee Representatives. A like integration is proceeding in Pennsylvania. In recent plant elections many stickers are being stuck on the ballots reading, "We want John L. Lewis [chairman of the C.I.O.]." Company unions are at present demanding most vigorously wage increases and a substitution of impartial arbitration for the veto power of top executives as a last court of appeal in disputes. The steel companies recently granted their men a week's vacation with pay each year. Newspapers carried a story that a universal 10-percent wage increase will be granted the 500,000 employees of the iron and steel industry.

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The Play and Screen

The Theatre's Coming Stars

IN ANY review of the acting of the theatrical season the first names coming to mind are the same as have been appearing for the last decade and more—Katherine Cornell, Helen Hayes, Mme. Nazimova, Ina Claire, Lynn Fontanne, Alfred Lunt, Walter Hampden, Philip Merivale, Osgood Perkins. Yet for the future of the theatre we must look for names not so well known. Who then from a glance at the season now drawing to a close seem most likely to be our future stars?

Perhaps the most startling feminine talent revealed for the first time to an American audience was that of Margaret Rawlings. Her performance of Mrs. O'Shea in "Parnell" was in personal beauty, richness of personality and technical skill altogether unusual. Whether Miss Rawlings is a one-part artist, or will go on to prove herself the romantic actress the stage has so long needed, it is too early yet to say, but her Kitty O'Shea will certainly not be forgotten. Unlike Miss Rawlings, Ruth Weston has been seen before, but in "There's Wisdom in Women" she proved herself for the first time an actress to be watched, showing an infectious sense of comedy, as well as emotional depth and authority. Mildred Natwick, a specialist in old women's parts, gave in "Night in the House" and in "End of Summer" two superlatively fine characterizations, and Margaret Douglas as the casual Southern mother in "Russet Mantle" gave brilliance to an otherwise uninteresting play. Wonder-children don't always grow up into wonder-artists, but thirteen-year-old Jeanne Dante gave a startlingly imaginative performance of fifteen-year-old precocity in "Call It a Day." Technically Miss Dante is already an accomplished actress, but she seems more than that; how much more time alone can tell. Three other young actresses showed marked ability during the past season—Claudia Morgan in "On Stage" and "Call It a Day," temperament controlled by intelligence; Agnes Doyle in "Fresh Fields," fire and sincerity; and Wendy Hiller in "Love on the Dole," an engaging personality combined with emotional power.

On the masculine side new talent was even more pronounced. First mention must be made of Burgess Meredith, who has been proclaimed, somewhat daringly, "the coming Hamlet." His variety, emotional poignancy, and technical mastery deserve high praise. Despite a tendency at times to overact, his is a talent which should go far. Walter Pidgeon in "The Night of January 16" and "There's Wisdom in Women" displayed a rare combination of masculine charm with sensitivity, which if the movies do not engulf him ought to bring him to stellar honors. As the reptilian Captain O'Shea in "Parnell" John Emery proved himself a young actor who has something of the quality of John Barrymore. Let us hope the movies do not swallow him! Another outstanding performance was that by Harry Ellerbe as Oswald in "Ghosts," an impersonation of fine intelligence and admirable variety. As Prince Albert in "Victoria Regina" Vincent Price, in what is practically his first professional appearance, made an extraordinary impression. Part of this was no doubt due to his physical likeness to the original, but certainly not all, his authority, his charm, his intelligence, being no less marked. And as he is a type of actor of whom there are very few on the American stage his place ought to become a marked one. Three young actors who did memorable character impersonations were Alexander Grandison as the brother in "Love on the Dole," and Parker Fennelly and Ben Lackland in the Players' Club revival of "The County Chairman." And last but not least were the performances of Percy Warum as Mr. Bennett in "Pride and Prejudice" and of Wilfred Lawson in "Libel." Mr. Warum has long appeared in New York, but now for the first time he has received the honors long due him as one of the most accomplished actors on the stage today, an actor of truly remarkable variety. Mr. Lawson, though not exactly young, is a newcomer to America, and as the barrister for the complainant gave one of the most colorful and vital impersonations of the year. Not at all a bad record for a single season!

GRENVILLE VERNON.

Fury

NORMAN KRASNA'S original screen play serves as a stirring and brutally frank indictment of mob hysteria of this day, of the kind that leads to tragedy from violence—in this instance, lynching. Ultimate tragedy is avoided, however, through a series of cleverly contrived and punchy incidents, but not without presenting the case against lawless mob fury. Impressive is the sincerity with which both sides of the question are offered.

Production by Joseph Mankiewicz, direction by Fritz Lang, and acting by Spencer Tracy, Sylvia Sidney, Walter Abel and Bruce Cabot rate highly, and the bare plot itself, while grim, is deeply engrossing, built as it is around the blind fury of a man for revenge on those who, after attempting to lynch him as a kidnap suspect, believe he was burned to ashes when they set fire to and dynamited the jailhouse. Subsequent apprehension of the real kidnapers and the discovery of newsreel pictures disclosing the identities of the jail-burning mobsters brings twenty-two citizens to trial for the supposed murder of the innocent stranger. They are convicted and sentenced to hang, the while the aggrieved stranger remains hidden, refusing to save his accusers from the noose.

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JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Books

Misty Platonism

Sparkenbroke, by Charles Morgan. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

PLATONISM and the novel are two things toward which the English mind has showed itself especially attracted ever since the seventeenth century. In connection with the first one recalls the names of the Cambridge Platonists Cudworth, Whichcote, Henry More, of the scholars Jowett, John Burnet, A. E. Taylor, and even of such a figure in public life as Dean Inge. The names the second calls up are many and distinguished, and too well known to need mention here. In a way the attraction is not remarkable, since between them these things dichotomize the whole field of knowledge: Platonism covers the universal, the novel the particular. But as they manifest themselves in their English forms these universals and particulars have their peculiar qualities. There is something misty about the Platonism (which does not always preserve intact the spirit of Plato); behind the mists of speculation rises a grand structure, dimly shining and avowed to be self-sustaining and immutable, but very often not distinct from the fancies bred by mists. The novel, on the other hand, is substantial and seen in an everyday light; one knows that though Squire Western and Mrs. Proudie make no claim to the eternal, they will be there tomorrow—they are peculiar, in both senses of the word, but real enough to common sense. It has been the effort of Charles Morgan to unite both these things in one artistic creation, to combine the novel and Platonism so as to give us characters whose humors, one might say, pass over into a whole-hearted imagining of the ideal.

Piers Tenniel, seventh Viscount and twelfth Baron Sparkenbroke, was in love with art, death and his neighbor's wife. His love of art had brought him fame as a novelist and poet, and brought hordes of tourists to the great estate of Sparkenbroke, which was maintained with money acquired in marriage. His love for death was caused by an experience undergone as a boy, when he had been shut up in the ancestral tomb. Death represented a fulfilment and perfection that nothing else in life could give him, no matter how assiduously he labored at his writing or how frequently he was unfaithful to his wife. In his acquaintance with Mary Leward, who became the wife of his boyhood friend, Dr. George Hardy, Lord Sparkenbroke found a focal point for his loves: Mary was a beautiful woman, she inspired him to write, and by some process, which cannot be logically set forth here, she made his thoughts dwell with death more than ever. He was not her lover, in the crudest sense of the word, but the high spots of the book are the occasions when he trembled on the brink of being that. Death from angina pectoris at last returned him to the tomb where he had had his childhood visions.

Lord Sparkenbroke plainly belongs to one of the lesser traditions of the English novel—the tradition of the romantic hero: an undisciplined blackguard who justifies his misbehavior by claiming some special gift, usually the

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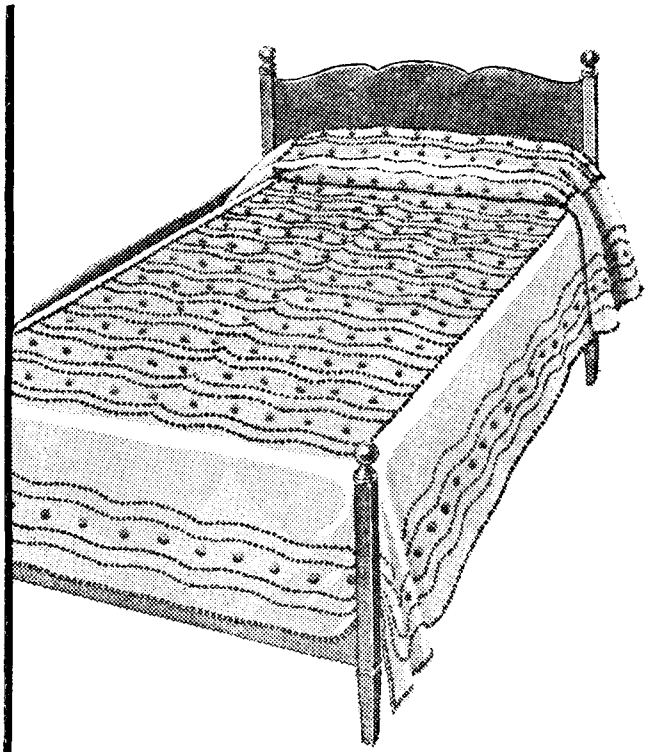

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gift of artistic creation, which makes him not as other men and so above and beyond the rules that bind them. That seems a fair description of Mr. Morgan's hero, if we add to it that he is also a prig. Indeed, Mr. Morgan gives us such a figure of three-decker Byronism as delighted the novel readers of Mudie's golden age. He offers astounding reports of Sparkenbroke's greatness, but when we are confronted with examples of it, such is the weakness of merely talented novelists, genius is nowhere to be seen, and the declared genius appears an unpleasant fellow given to sententious talk.

And this talk is the vehicle of the novel's Platonism. Now the novel, by and large, deals with the dramatic clashes of human experience, while Platonism seeks to transcend experience and go beyond it to those unchanging patterns which experience follows so poorly. The merely human experiences undergone by the characters in "Sparkenbroke" are subsidiary to "the realities of that other world" which they are supposed to evoke, but Mr. Morgan is neither the poet nor the philosopher to convince the reader that any higher reality is being glimpsed at all. The grafting of the generalizations of philosophy upon the particularities of the novel has not resulted in the clearly defined, though large, vistas of the first, nor in the warm intimacy of the second. This failure is perhaps most evident in Mr. Morgan's style: it aspires to be, and some would allow that it is, "fine prose." It is a style which suggests that Mr. Morgan is seeking a Platonic Ideal of Prose; his words do not achieve beauty in the performance of their rightful task of saying with all exactitude what is to be said—they are first arranged to approximate to a universal paradigm of good writing, then allowed the grosser business of communication, and truth is forever at some distance from beauty. "Sparkenbroke" lacks an essential unity. In the same manner that the beauty of his prose takes precedence over its substance, Mr. Morgan's meaning (his "message," in other words) takes precedence over the experience that imperfectly embodies it, and both fail to convince because no connection is established between them. And a novel which does not succeed in reconciling human action with the larger pattern that it lays down for it has failed as a novel and cast doubt on its own philosophy.

The English aptitudes for Platonism and the novel have not met happily in "Sparkenbroke." Sparkenbroke himself, as Christopher Morley has amusingly pointed out, is a Milord heavily scented with the patchouli of the silliest sort of snob-appeal. And, without impugning Mr. Morgan's sincerity, it seems true to say that Sparkenbroke's lofty imaginings are of a piece with this, and that the many readers who follow him in his tedious and mannered discourses are getting, on a subtler plane, the same vicarious pleasure that their parents got when Ouida's Tricotrin suffered the most exquisite twinges of his sensibility. Perhaps only so sensitive a soul as Sparkenbroke could honestly object to this, for we live in a world where the devices of publicity can make a novel sell by the thousands, and only in Plato's imagined republic are poets banished for misleading the people.

GEOFFREY STONE.

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Important Autobiography

Fire of Life, by Henry W. Nevinson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

MANY of the descriptive and incidental passages of Mr. Nevinson's three volumes of "Changes and Chances" have been condensed or deleted in order to offer in a single and conveniently arranged volume, accessible to nearly everyone, the autobiography of which John Masefield writes that "no better has been written in English in the last hundred years." I believe that Mr. Masefield formed that opinion on the basis of the three previously published volumes. Yet it is a strang coincidence that Henry Nevinson's "Fire of Life" should have been published in New York on the same day on which John Paton's autobiography, "Never Say Die," was published, for in this latter volume it is likely to find its only recent rival. At all events, "Fire of Life" and "Never Say Die" represent, singly and together, some of the richest autobiographic material and some of the most interesting reading that any publishing season has produced. Probably a century hence these volumes will remain treasured, though no great excitement concerning them has been manifested. Neither story is bizarre, nor is it likely to be popular with followers of the latest literary fads and sensations. And of the two autobiographies, Mr. Nevinson's "Fire of Life" is better in literary quality and poorer in human interest. Neither author endeavors to force preferences or opinions upon the reader and to each author an unusually high rating in tolerance and in humanity must be accorded.

Among Mr. Nevinson's more famous books are "Neighbors of Ours," "The Plea of Pan," "The Dawn in Russia," "The New Spirit in India," "Essays in Rebellion" (published just before the war), "The Dardanelles Campaign" (published at the close of the war), "Through the Dark Backward" and the now famous autobiography. In his youth he heard Carlyle and Ruskin; as a young man he became a journalist and something of a philosophic anarchist. His particular genius has always been evidenced in combining character and situation into highly interesting but not overwrought drama, and in instilling into it a literary quality which only two or three other journalists have ever equalled.

The autobiography tells of his experiences with the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Daily News,* the *Chronicle:* of what he saw in India, in the first Russian Revolution, in Morocco, in the Balkan Wars, at the Dardanelles and in Egypt, 1915-1916, in France and in Germany, 1918-1919, in Ireland during the early and later difficulties, at the Washington Arms Conference, and in many different situations in which he spent more idyllic moments, vacationing, visiting resorts, interviewing prominent personages, attending lectures and joining in movements for social betterment.

"I have been happy," says Mr. Nevinson, "in being born to a grave and rigid manner of thought and behavior; a condition poor enough to escape softness and luxury, but so far above the poverty line . . . that, with the help of scholarships, I could be sent to a great school

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Books such as Mr. Nevinson's, or Mr. Paton's, while not recording the lives of "makers of history," are becoming increasingly important for two reasons. First, because it seems less and less possible nowadays for one man alone to "make history," and more and more important to "help to make it" by influencing public opinion in the right direction. Second, the qualities of thought and of literary power exemplified in the autobiographies of such journalists as Messrs. Nevinson and Paton are worth anyone's consideration. It does not matter if one does not always agree with the ideas or with the political leanings of an author; the combination of human experience, of morality and of intellectual capacity is what counts.

LLOYD W. ESHLEMAN.

Satire concerning War

The Eve of 1914, by Theodor Wolff. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

THE VALUE of Theodor Wolff's commentary leading up to the explosion of 1914 does not lie in its conclusions anent "war guilt." It is true that the impression given—i.e., that unimaginative and unstable German statesmen failed to see that Austria's bellicose attitude toward the Slavic world must lead to a general European conflict—seems to conform with the best available historical analyses. No monster fomented the tragedy, it was the supreme achievement of collective stupidity. As a Berlin journalist Herr Wolff naturally saw more of Teutonic asinity than of French or British nitwittedness. This simple verity has too frequently been discounted by those who longed to use the book for propaganda reasons.

But read as the diary of a remarkably astute and sceptical Berliner who was in a position to look behind the scenes as well as at the play, this is really as fascinating a literary achievement as one could desire. As he wrote, Wolff was doubtless actuated by a yearning to show that Germany had been defeated by no stab in the back but by the blunders of her once feudally organized society. Therefore his portraits are often merciless and seldom kind. He uses fierce daubs when the personage is really hostile to him; but normally—as in the sketches of Bülow and Kinderlen-Wächter—the deft line-drawing of the caricaturist achieves results with deadly effect. It is, perhaps, too bad that Bethmann-Hollweg is not here to retaliate with a portrait of Herr Wolff. But even though the reader is sometimes aware that impartial justice is not being done, he cannot but enjoy satire quieter than Swift's but nearly as effective. Curiously the most unpartizan treatment in the book is accorded Wilhelm II, who is left looking a trifle more helpless, hopeless and ridiculous than before but is freed from suspicions that

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he was evil incarnate. Doubtless the Austrian diplomats who drowned what was left of the Hapsburg power in a pool of elegance and political stupidity fare worst.

The book is, I believe, sure to remain of permanent importance both as evidence bearing upon one of the darkest periods in history and as the mature expression of the author's mind. It is incidentally a great tract against war. But fundamentally and above all it is an essay on the follies of the human race, which seldom has a great man to lead it out of danger and never follows him when he does appear.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

Ethnology in Focus

Alien Americans, by B. Schrieke. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

MR. SCHRIEKE'S investigation has confirmed the truth (which any attentive student may have taken *a priori*) that race prejudice is first economic and that natural abhorrence, which manifests itself between types as well as between colors, is more the bubble than the fermentation. The book, abridged, but not abbreviated, to 196 pages, is a categorical study of white America in relation to its Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Indians, Negroes, etc., and their difficulties in both separate survival and assimilation. Scarcity and abundance of labor are seen as more tenable bases for the fluctuating American attitude toward immigration and deportation than various scares and perils that occasionally disturb the calm. Mr. Schrieke's deductions usually come to the same issue, that economic evils and human selfishness lie at the foundation of most racial prejudice and persecution. Racial abhorrence is by no means unrecognized; but the reader who remains smugly satisfied that the prejudicial barrier between wide racial opposites is a natural fact may look about at the modifications between prognathous and orthognathous, and the nuances between white and black. And when bullying and habit are discounted, nothing much is left of inherent revulsion.

While the book for the most part is confined to the situation in America, and for the major part of that to the white-black maladjustment, it is clearly applicable to the world scene. It must be said that the author's notable departure from prudence is his overemphasizing the South and the Negro, which makes rather an absurd alignment with his proof that prejudice is no more Georgian than Californian or Pennsylvanian—or Asiatic. But Mr. Schrieke is too wise to sentimentalize upon the oppressed, who, he realizes, if he does not say it, would be the oppressors under circumstances favorable to such an inversion of fact. The book, with quick interest, orders the ethnological jumble to a clear focus. And there it is for the moralist to work on toward the ends of economic decency and, where essential, symbiotic tolerance. This goes not for America alone but for the world. Nor need Americans lose sight of any potential alien menace until the aliens as well as the Americans have been further purified.

LEGARDE S. DOUGHTY.

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The Housing Problem

Housing Officials' Yearbook, 1936; *edited by Coleman Woodbury. Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials.* $2.00.

THIS is an excellent and interesting collection of papers contributed by leaders of official organizations dealing with the housing problem in America. The English subsidized housing program and accomplishments are also well presented. Economic problems, governmental problems, social, legal, architectural and planning problems are treated by experts in a clear and non-technical manner. Indexes are included which give a bibliography, a summary of American housing legislation and a directory of agencies and officials. The actual accomplishments of the federal and state and regional agencies during 1935 are recorded at sufficient length. The National Association of Housing Officials itself appears to be an intelligent and active professional association and clearing-house, "concerned with the intelligent formulation of long-term housing policy, particularly the contribution that can be made to such policy by the experience and insight of administrative officials."

Sally Holds the Fort

The Stars Come Close, by Margaret E. Sangster. New York: Greenberg. $2.00.

AS FICTION heroines often do, Sally Keating promised to marry her childhood playmate, Dick Tracy, whom she did not love, because she saw no hope of winning Anthony Thurston, whose very presence stirred her to ecstasy. When the war came she learned that Anthony loved her, but she married Dick when she found he had lost a leg and needed her badly. Life with Dick was dull beyond words, but Sally somehow endured it patiently only to be swept off her feet again on meeting Anthony fifteen years later. But when she went home to tell her husband she was going to leave him at last, Dick was ill with a bad case of measles, so she stayed. Heroics of any kind are ordinarily unconvincing when presented in the superficial, uneven, plain-Jane manner of this book. However, its lack of a vital sense of reality and the bareness of its style actually heightens the effect of dreariness which marked the passage of Sally's best years.

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